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ABSTRACT

A grammar of the Central Yupik Eskimo language, spoken in western Alaska, is presented. Although there are several dialects within this area, Yupik is a single language. The first half of this book leans toward the Yukon dialect in the vocabulary sections, while the second half leans toward the Kuskokwim dialect. However, alternate vocabulary words are given throughout the book, and phonology, morphology and syntax are fairly uniform throughout all the dialects. The grammar is intended to be the basis of a two-year college course for non-speakers or native speakers. Chapter 1 deals with the writing system and pronunciation. Chapter 2 deals with morphology, particularly suffixation patterns. It is recommended that parts of these chapters be used as reference material, since they would probably be very difficult for students unfamiliar with Yupik grammar. Chapters 3-28 constitute the main text. These chapters present vocabulary, drills and other exercises on particular points of grammar. Following the main text, the vocabulary words and the postbases and enclitics from the 28 chapters are listed. In addition, the following are provided: an index, several addenda to the text, a seven-page bibliography and a short list of other works recommended to students of Yupik. (AMH)

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YUP'IK ESKIMO GRAMMAR

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NOTE TO THE READER:

Because of a misunderstanding with the printer, the page and chapter numbers on pages 167-172, 212-218, and 286-292 appear on the inner corners of the pages rather than on the outer corners as intended. In those sections there are two-page charts which should have been printed on facing pages, but which now appear on two sides of one sheet. We regret any inconvenience this error may cause the reader.

CORRECTIONS:

Page 3, Figure: In the listing of apicals, delete the first 'n'

Page 28, footnote 1, final sentence: "tatamngaitaa" should be "tatamńgaitaa"

Page 62: Last translation on page should be "(they$_{pl}$ see them$_2$)"

Page 255, Exercise A, 18: "assiitniluku" should be "assiitniluki"

Page 285, 286, 287: On charts, pages 286 & 287, in column after "1st d": "+" should be changed to "-". Then, on page 285, final paragraph, line three, insert: "except for 1st d endings" after " . . . are retaining type (+)".

Page 289, first line: Delete "in the past"

Page 291, second line: "let's go" should be "hurry"

Page 292, Exercise A, 1: "umyuarteqngermi" should be "umyuarteq'ngermi"

Page 294, 28.2, in section on Yukon pattern: Form of ending should be: '$@_2\bar{+}$(ng)a-'

Page 296: Final word in list should be "tangerqan"

Page 305: The following forms might not be printed clearly:

ullag-, 21
ulligte-, 16*
ullirtaaq, 20*

uyaquq, 6
uyuraq, 6

wii/wi[illegible]a, 26

YUP'IK ESKIMO GRAMMAR

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PREFACE

This book deals with the Yup'ik Eskimo language spoken in the area of western Alaska bounded by St. Michael to the north, by Naknek or Egegik to the south, and including the villages along the Nushagak River, the lower parts of the Kuskokwim and Yukon Rivers and the coast and tundra between these rivers.[1] Although there are several dialects within this area, Yup'ik is a single language. A Yup'ik speaker from St. Michael and one from Naknek can easily understand each other. The dialects of Yup'ik are roughly as follows: the dialect of the Yukon, that of the Kuskokwim, that of the Nelson Island area, the Bristol Bay dialect, the dialect of the Nushagak River, the Hooper Bay - Chevak dialect, and the Nunivak Island dialect. The last two mentioned dialects are considerably different from the others though still mutually intelligible with them. The first half of this book leans towards the Yukon in the vocabulary sections, while the second half leans toward the Kuskokwim, but alternate vocabulary words are given throughout the book, and the phonology, morphology and syntax are fairly uniform throughout all the dialects.

This book is intended to be the basis of a two year college course which will serve the needs of non-speakers wishing to learn the Yup'ik language, and speakers wishing to gain literacy and an understanding of the grammatical structure of their language. Chapter 1, which deals with the writing system, is the beginning of the course. It embraces a great deal of information however, some quite complicated, and must be supplemented by the instructor with supporting exercise and example materials. Chapter 2, after section 2.3, deals with suffixation patterns and this part should be passed over and set aside, like parts of Chapter 1, as reference material since it would likely be very difficult for students not yet familiar with Yup'ik grammar. The main text of the book with vocabulary sections, drills and exercises begins with Chapter 3.

---

[1] The word "Yup'ik" (also "Yupiaq") means "genuine person" and is the term by which the Eskimos of this area refer to themselves. The Eskimos of St. Lawrence Island and the tip of Siberia speak a closely related though different language and also refer to themselves as "Yupik". For this reason, the language with which this grammar book deals is sometimes called "Central Yup'ik" and the other language is called "Siberian Yupik". However, in this book the shorter label, "Yup'ik", is used, and one should bear in mind that it is being used to refer only to the language of the Eskimos living in the area described above, and not to that of the St. Lawrence Island and Siberian Eskimos.

Chapter 1 can also be used independently as the foundation of a short course in Yup'ik literacy for speakers of the language.

For over one hundred years now writing has been done in Yup'ik. A variety of orthographies (writing systems) has been used during this time. The orthography which is used in this grammar book is that which has gained widespread acceptance among the Yup'ik people as the standard writing system for their language. Experience has shown that native Yup'ik speakers quickly and easily gain literacy using this orthography, and that non-speakers who wish to learn Yup'ik find this orthography to be a great aid in achieving correct pronunciation and in grasping the grammatical patterns of the language. Furthermore, by utilizing this orthography, the student is prepared to read the increasing amount of printed material available in Yup'ik.

The research behind this grammar book was originally begun at the University of Alaska by Michael Krauss, Irene Reed and Martha Teeluk (a Yup'ik speaker from the Yukon River area) in 1961-1963 (supported by the National Science Foundation). Writing of the grammar was initially undertaken by Osahito Miyaoka, Irene Reed and Michael Krauss with much information written by Paschal Afcan (a Yup'ik speaker from the Yukon) in 1968-1970 (supported by the Institute for Social Economic and Government Research at the University of Alaska, and by the National Endowment for the Humanities). It was revised and expanded by Irene Reed in 1970-1971, and especially by Steven Jacobson in 1973-1977 (with information from Sophie Manutoli and Anna Jacobson, both Yup'ik speakers from the Kuskokwim River area). Many others have contributed to this book, including Jeffrey Leer, Joseph Coolidge, Marie Blanchett, and especially the students who have taken the courses in Yup'ik Eskimo at the Fairbanks and Bethel campuses of the University of Alaska during these years. To all these people we wish to express our deep gratitude for the enthusiastic support they have given us in our work.

We also gained a lot by studying previously published works on Yup'ik and other Eskimo languages. These include writings by Barnum, Hinz and Hammerich on Yup'ik, and by Kleinschmidt, Schultz-Lorentzen and Bergsland on Greenlandic Eskimo.[1]

Preliminary versions of this book have been in circulation since 1971. There are probably still some errors in the present version, and perhaps important topics have been omitted. Certainly much could be added in the way of further exercises and a greater variety of exercise material, conversational material and reading exercises. Also, since a number of people have worked on this book over a number of years, no one of its authors is completely satisfied with all of the ways that things are formulated in it. Nevertheless, due to the interest expressed in teaching Yup'ik in Alaskan high schools and colleges, it is desirable that this edition be released at this time. Any comments or suggestions will be gratefully received.

Steven Jacobson

Irene Reed

Alaska Native Language Center
University of Alaska, Fairbanks
November 1977

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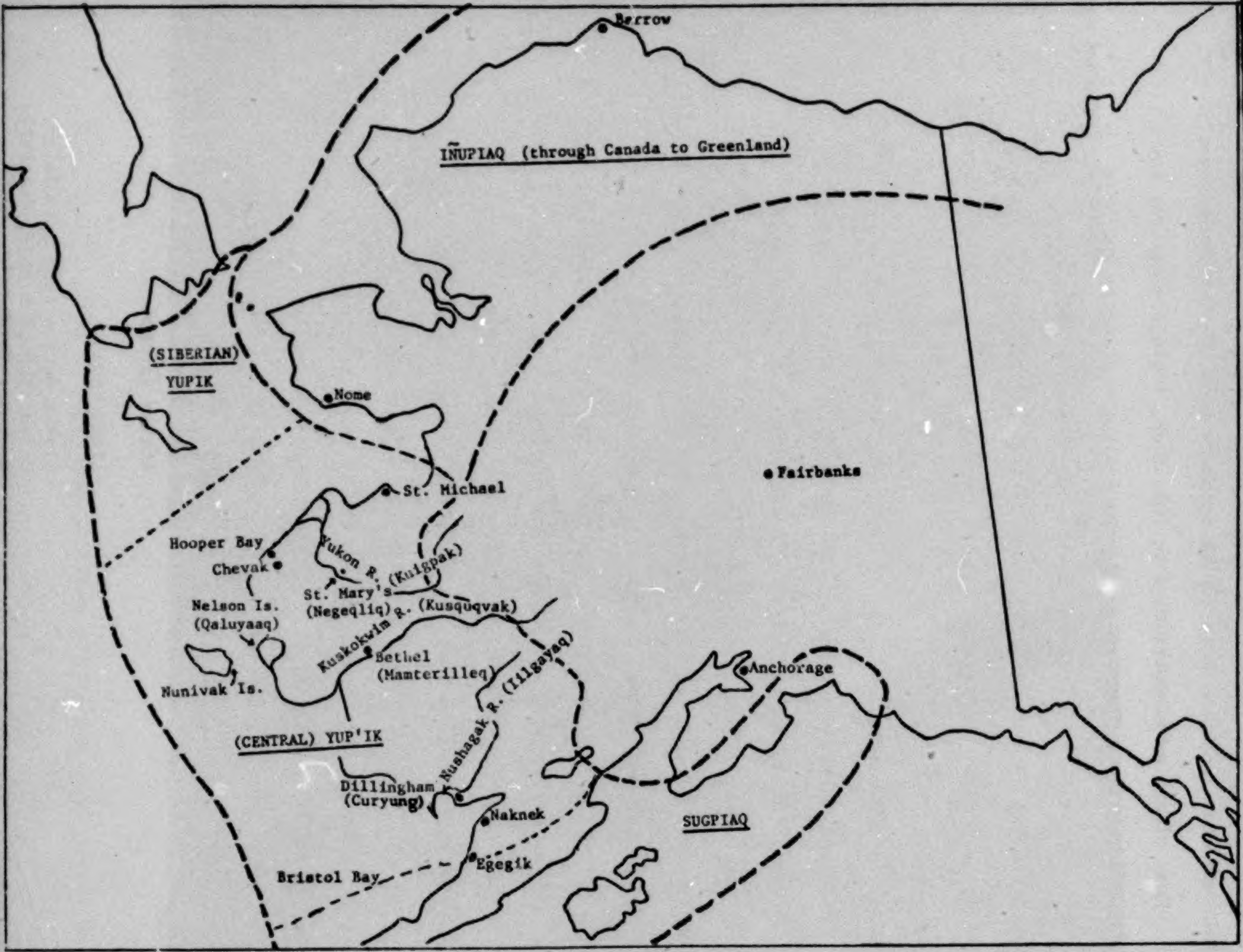
[1] For specific titles see the bibliography and Krauss's article cited there.


Barrow
IÑUPIAQ (through Canada to Greenland)
(SIBERIAN) YUPIK
Nome
St. Michael
Fairbanks
Hooper Bay
Chevak
Yukon R. (Kuigpak)
St. Mary's (Negeqliq)
Kuskokwim R. (Kusquqvak)
Nelson Is. (Qaluyaaq)
Nunivak Is.
Bethel (Mamterilleq)
Nushagak R. (Iilgayaq)
Anchorage
(CENTRAL) YUP'IK
Dillingham (Curyung)
Naknek
Egegik
Bristol Bay
SUGPIAQ

This map shows the area of Alaska where Yup'ik Eskimo is spoken. The Siberian Yupik language and the Sugpiaq language are closely related to (Central) Yup'ik but are not mutually intelligible with it nor with each other. Iñupiaq Eskimo is further removed from the other three though it too shares many cognates with Yup'ik and its syntax is very close to that of Yup'ik.

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Chapter I

The Pronunciation of Yup'ik Eskimo

1.1 The writing system for Yup'ik Eskimo has been developed in such a way that if one knows the sounds of the letters and a few additional rules, written words can be pronounced in only one way[1]. Likewise, if one accurately hears a word and is aware of the sounds composing it, it can be correctly written down in one and usually only one way. However, in a few cases grammatical information is necessary in order to know how to write a word in the preferred way. Thus each written word can be pronounced in only one way, and most spoken words can be written in only one way. We never have a situation where two words pronounced differently are written the same, as in older writing systems for Yup'ik Eskimo.

1.2 The writing system was designed so that the pronunciation of letters in Yup'ik follows their pronunciation in English wherever possible. However, since Yup'ik has some sounds that English does not have and vice versa, some of the letters used in Yup'ik are pronounced differently than they are in English. Only the following symbols are used in writing Yup'ik: a, c, e, g, i, k, l, m, n, p, q, r, s, t, u, v, w, y, ', -, and ´, but never b, d, f, h, j, o, x, z. A Yup'ik word may sound like it has one of these English-only letters, for example "o". When one learns the sounds of the letters he will see that this "o" sound can be represented by another letter, "u", which is one of the Yup'ik letters.

---

[1] There are a few very minor exceptions to this. Also different dialect areas will pronounce the same written word differently, but within a given dialect area, spelling determines pronunciation.

Rather than represent the sounds of Yup'ik in a simple list, it is more informative to arrange them on the chart below.

Consonants

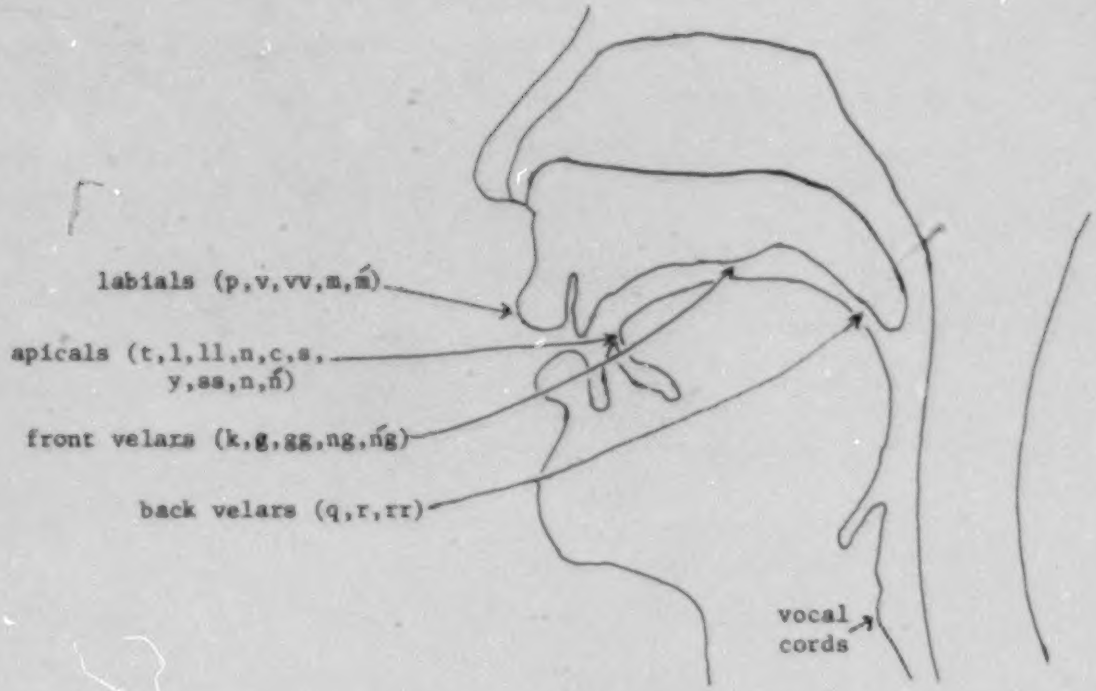
	labials	apicals		front velars	back velars	labialized front velars	labialized back velars
stops	p	t	c	k	q		
voiced fricatives	v	l	s/y	g	r	u͡g	u͡r
voiceless fricatives	vv	ll	ss	gg	rr	w	u͡rr
voiced nasals	m	n		ng			
voiceless nasals	ḿ	ń		ńg			

Vowels

	front		back
high	i		u
		e	
low		a	

Letters in the same vertical column represent sounds produced in the same part of the mouth. Letters in the same horizontal row represent the same type of sound. The bridge, "⌒", in "u͡g", "u͡r" and "u͡rr" is generally omitted by Yup'ik writers, however it will be used in this book for the sake of precision.

The drawing on the following page shows where the mouth is constricted to produce the various Yup'ik consonants.


labials (p,v,vv,m,ḿ)
apicals (t,l,ll,n,c,s, y,ss,n,ń)
front velars (k,g,gg,ng,ńg)
back velars (q,r,rr)
vocal cords

1.3 Stop consonants or stops in the first horizontal row on the chart are those sounds which require the passage of air through the mouth to come to a complete stop.

Yup'ik "p" is similar to English "p" but is unaspirated. Actually, English "p" can be unaspirated too, but only in certain positions within a word. Pronounce the English word "spin" while holding your hand in front of your mouth. Notice that there is no puff of air following the "p". This is what is meant by "p" being unaspirated, and this is the usual sound of Yup'ik "p". Now pronounce the Yup'ik word "pin" (your thing) being careful to make the "p" unaspirated. Contrast this to the English word "pin" where "p" is aspirated. Another Yup'ik example is "ipuun" (ladle).

Yup'ik "t" is like the unaspirated "t" in the English word "stung," except that at the end of a word it is aspirated. An example is "aatat" (fathers) where the first "t" is unaspirated and the final "t" is aspirated.

Yup'ik "c" is like an unaspirated English "ch". However, when another consonant (particularly "s") or the vowel "e" follows "c", most speakers pronounce such a "c" like the "ts" in "hits". Thus, "calista" (the worker), but "cen͡a" (shore) and "acsat" (berries).[1]

Yup'ik "k" is like unaspirated English "k" in "skin", except that at the end of a word it is aspirated, as in "ukuk" (these two).

A rough but helpful way to look at it is that Yup'ik "p" is somewhat between English "p" and "b", Yup'ik "t" is between English "t" and "d", Yup'ik "c" is between English "ch" and "j" and Yup'ik "k" between English "k" and hard "g".

The letter "q" stands for a Yup'ik sound that is not present in English. To an English speaker it sounds similar to Yup'ik "k", only it is pronounced further back in the mouth. The English speaking missionaries who composed the older writing systems for Yup'ik Eskimo often did not realize the distinction between these two sounds, and for this reason the older writing systems represent both sounds by a single letter, "k". However, the distinction is often crucial to the meaning of a word. For example, "kiiq" (heat in the air) and "qiiq" (gray hair), or "angyaq" (one boat) and "angyak" (two boats).

If one pronounces each of these stop consonants, "p, t, c, k, q", in turn, he will notice how the point where the sound is produced moves from the front to the back of the mouth.

Two identical stop consonants are never written next to each other.

---

[1] In Hooper Bay and Chevak, words that have "ce" elsewhere, have "ci" and the "c" is pronounced like the "ch" in "church" in these words also. So, for Hooper Bay and Chevak, "cen͡a" is "cina".

1.4 The consonants in the next two rows are fricatives, which are continuing sounds (in contrast to the stops). Voiced fricatives are those in which the vocal cords vibrate when the sound is made, while in making a voiceless fricative, the vocal cords do not vibrate.

Basically, "v" sounds like it does in English. Notice how the vocal cords vibrate when one says "avga" (half of it). In many words, if "v" is between vowels, it is pronounced like the English letter "w" (except in Hooper Bay and a few other areas). Thus, "tuntuvak" (moose). We are accustomed to thinking of "v" and "w" as very different sounds in English, but they are pronounced in the same part of the mouth, so it is not surprising that they are often interchanged in Yup'ik.[1] (The Yup'ik writing system does use the symbol "w", but not for the same sound that it symbolizes in English.)

"vv" is the voiceless counterpart of "v". If you keep your vocal cords from vibrating while pronouncing "v", you get the sound of English "f", and this is exactly the sound of "vv" in Yup'ik: "avvutuk" (they two separate), "kuuvviaq" (coffee). We do not use "f" in the writing system because it is desirable to show the relation between voiced fricatives such as "v" and their voiceless counterparts such as "vv", by using a single symbol for the voiced sound and the same symbol doubled for the voiceless sound.

The fricative that corresponds to "t" is "l". It sounds like English "l" except that the tongue is held flat and higher in the mouth than in English. Examples are "ila" (relative) and "uluaq" (woman's-knife).

Try making "l" voiceless by pronouncing it without allowing your vocal cords to vibrate. The resulting sound is represented by "ll". This is a sound totally foreign to English. The sound of "ll" was represented ~~in old~~ writing systems for Yup'ik by "tl", "ł", or "l̂". Examples are "allaneq" (stranger), "ayalleq" (the one who left).

---

[1] See also the Addendum on page 317.

The voiced fricative that corresponds to the Yup'ik stop "c" is written "s". You will notice that it has the sound usually associated with the English letter "z", though "s" in many English words, such as "easy", is voiced also. "y", pronounced as in English, is formed in the same part of the mouth as "s" and certain areas will regularly use "y" where others use "s"[1], and there are areas that use "s" where others use "y"[2]. Thus, most Yup'ik speakers say "casit" (what are you doing), but in some areas people say "cayit". The voiceless counterpart of "s" and "y" is "ss" which sounds like the English "ss" in "essay". Thus, "assiituq" (it is bad). (For a further discussion about "s" and "y", see page 317.)

The voiced fricatives "g" and "r" are the continuing sounds that correspond to the stops "k" and "q". The voiceless counterparts are "gg" and "rr". Pronounced in the same position in the mouth as "k" and "q", these sounds are all foreign to English.[3] Some Yup'ik examples are "igaa" (he swallows it), "iruq" (leg), "maaggun" (through here) and "amarru" (carry it on your back).

1.5 The sound of the letter "w" in Yup'ik differs from the sound of English "w" in having more of a "wh" sound as in some English speakers' pronunciation of "whetstone". Yup'ik "w" is like Yup'ik "gg" but made with the lips rounded. That is, Yup'ik "w" is a voiceless labialized front velar fricative. Examples are "wiinga" (I, me), "watua" (just now), and "akwaugaq" (yesterday). It should not be confused with the sound of "v" in words such as "qavartuq" (he's sleeping).[1]

---

[1] Hooper Bay - Chevak

[2] The north mouth of the Yukon River.

[3] Labialized forms of the back velars "r" and "rr" also occur but rather infreqently. The labialized back velar voiced fricative "u͡r" occurs only in words formed with the postbase "-u͡rluq" (poor, dear one), such as "cau͡rluq" (the poor dear thing). The labialized back velar voiceless fricative "u͡rr" occurs in one of several possible possessed forms of anatomical words ending in a vowel followed by "quq". An example with this sound is "uyaqu͡rrani" (on his neck) which can also be said "uyaqurrani", where the labialized voiceless back velar fricative "u͡rr" is replaced with a voiceless "u" followed by the non-labialized voiceless back velar fricative "rr", and this same word can also be said "uyaquani".

The voiced counterpart of Yup'ik "w" occurs only in some Yup'ik demonstratives where it is represent by "ûg" in this book. Thus "ûg" is like Yup'ik "g" but made with lips rounded; for example, "aûgna" (the one going away) and "taûgaam" (however, but).[2]

1.6 The next row are the voiced __nasals__, so called because they are produced by the passage of air through the nose. "m" and "n" are like English "m" and "n". "ng" is like the "ng" in the English word "singer", and __not__ like the "ng" in "finger" or "ungodly". Thus in Yup'ik, "ng" is a single sound. It could have been represented by a single symbol, but there is not a convenient symbol available on most typewriters and the pair of symbols "ng" in English often has the same sound as the sound we wish to symbolize in Yup'ik. An example showing the voiced nasal sounds in Yup'ik is "minguun" (ointment).

Later on we shall discuss limits on the number of consonants that can occur in a cluster. For these discussions "ng" is to be regarded as one consonant, as are the voiceless fricatives "vv", "ll", "ss", "gg", and "rr".

---

[1] In Hooper Bay and Chevak the pronunciation of these letters "v" and "w" is different. In those areas, "v" is always pronounced like English "v" and never like English "w" except in demonstrative adverbs such as "avani" (Chap. 25). The Yup'ik "w" in "wiinga" etc., is pronounced like an English "w" in Hooper Bay, Chevak, and in some other areas.

[2] When Yup'ik writers dispense with the symbol "^" over "ug" it leads to underdifferentiation in that it does not show the difference in pronunciation of "ug" and "ûg". For example, in "kaugaa" (he reaches into it), "u" and "g" represent the usual sound of "u" followed by "g", while in "taugaam" (which we would write "taûgaam"), "ug" represents a single labialized voiced velar fricative.

When a word has the two separate sounds "n" and "g" occurring next to each other in that order, we put an apostrophe between the letters to distinguish this sequence of two separate sounds from the single nasal sound "ng". Compare "can'get" (grass) and "cangacit" (how are you).

The nasals described above are voiced, in that the vocal cords vibrate when they are pronounced. Voiceless nasals also occur in Yup'ik. This happens automatically when a nasal follows a stop or voiceless fricative. For example, the "ng" is voiceless in "akngirtuq" (he gets hurt) and in "allngiq" (patch on the sole of a boot). If a nasal follows a stop or a voiceless fricative and that nasal is voiced despite its position, we indicate this situation by placing an apostrophe between the voiceless consonant and the voiced nasal. For example, in "up'nerkaq" (spring season), the "n" is voiced. If a nasal is voiceless even though it doesn't follow a voiceless consonant, we indicate the voicelessness of the nasal by putting a mark over it. Compare "asemńgaitaa" (he won't break it) where the "ńg" is voiceless, with "aqumngaituq" (he won't sit down) where the "ng" is voiced. As with the stops, two like nasals are never written together. However, it is possible to have adjacent nasals which differ only in that one is voiced and the other voiceless, an example being "anńia" (he says she put it outside).

1.7 There are four vowels in Yup'ik Eskimo. The letter "a" is pronounced somewhat like the English "a" in "what" or like "a" in "father". Single "a" has the former sound, while double "a" has the latter sound. Thus "akutaq" (Eskimo ice cream). The double "a" is lengthened in pronunciation, that is, the vowel sound is made for a longer period of time. Thus "aana" (mother).

1.8 The letter "i" is pronounced somewhat like the English "i" in "hit" or like the English "he" in "he". Single "i" has the former sound, while double "i" has the latter sound. Examples are "iqmik" (chewing tobacco) and "iinruq" (pill, medicine).

1.9 The letter "u" is pronounced somewhat like the English "u" in "put" or "Luke". Single "u" has the former sound, while double "u" has the latter sound. Examples are "yuk" (person) and "yuuk" (two persons). However, when one of the back velars "q", "r", or "rr" occurs next to "u", it gives the "u" a sound which resembles "o" to an English speaker. Compare "ukuk" (these two) with "uquq" (seal oil). This is the reason that older writing systems for Yup'ik used the letter "o" in these positions.

1.10 "a", "i", and "u" are known as prime vowels. The other vowel is "e", a short, indistinct sound, somewhat like the "e" in the English word "roses". It never occurs doubled, or next to another vowel, or at the end of a word. At the beginning of a word it is silent or nearly silent if followed by a consonant and a single prime vowel.[1] Examples are "tekeq" (index finger), "ena" (house), and "elituq" (he learns).

1.11 Prime vowels may occur doubled, and any two different prime vowels may occur next to each other in a diphthong. However, it is a feature of the Yup'ik sound system that three or more vowels never occur in a cluster. Examples of "ia" are "kaviaq" (red fox), "piani" (up there), and "caliaq" (job). Examples of "ai" are "airraq" (string story), "qimugtai" (his dogs), and "angyaituq" (he doesn't have a boat). Examples of "iu" are

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[1] "e" is typically voiceless between voiceless consonants or at the beginning of a word before a voiceless consonant; for example: "elpetek" (you two), where the entire word may be voiceless (see 1.12 for devoicing of "l"). Also "u" is often voiceless between "q" and voiceless "r", and "k" and voiceless "g", for example "qurrun" (chamber pot), and "cakugcit" (what are you planning to do?)

"caliuq" (he works) and "ciun" (ear). Examples of "ui" are "uinga" (her husband) and "uitauq" (he stays). Notice that these two words sound as if they begin with English "w", but they are not spelled with "w" in Yup'ik. Compare "wiinga" (I, me) and "uinga" (her husband). Examples of "ua" are "uani" (in the area towards the exit or towards the mouth of the river) (compare "wani" (right here)), and "maqaruaq" (rabbit). Examples of "au" are "aurruq" (he's crawling) and "auk" (blood).

1.12 It is a feature of the Yup'ik sound system that when any of the fricatives "v, l, s, g, r" occurs next to a stop consonant, that fricative is almost always voiceless. Another feature is that the voiceless fricatives,"vv, ll, ss, gg, rr" can occur next to each other. These two facts have led to a simplification of the writing system. Whenever a single fricative is written next to a stop, the fricative is pronounced voiceless, that is, as if it were written double. Thus, in "puqla" (heat) the "l" is pronounced voiceless like "ll", but here voiceless "l" is written single because "q" is a stop. Likewise, in "ayagtuq" (he leaves) the "g" is written single but pronounced voiceless. In those rare cases where a voiced fricative occurs next to a stop, this is indicated by separating the two letters with an apostrophe. Thus in "it'gaq" (foot) and "ut'rutaa" (he returns it), the "g" and "r" are voiced.

When two voiceless fricatives occur together, the first one is written double and the second one is written single. The combination is pronounced as if both fricatives were written double. Thus, "ayallruuq" (he left) and "neqerrluk" (dry fish). In cases where a voiced fricative is next to a voiceless fricative (a rare occurrence limited to a small area of the Yukon), this is also indicated with an apostrophe as in "ner'lliniuq" (I discover that he ate).

1.13 A single "s" at the beginning of a word is pronounced voiceless. For example, "sugtuuq" (he is tall).[1] If a word begins with a fricative other than "s", then that fricative is voiced. For example, "yuurqaq" (hot beverage), and "luuskaaq" (spoon). Actually, the only voiced fricative that begins an appreciable number of native Yup'ik words is "y". The majority of Yup'ik words that begin with "l" are actually borrowed from Russian (such as "luuskaaq" mentioned above), and very few Yup'ik words begin with voiced fricatives other than "l" or "y". Words that sound as if they begin with a voiced fricative usually begin with "e" instead. Thus "elituq" (he learns), "egaleq" (window), and "erina" (voice). At the end of a word a fricative is pronounced voiceless even though it is written single. The most common fricative to occur in this position is "r" as in "angyacuar" (little boat).

1.14 We have seen that when vowels are written double they are pronounced lengthened. Consonants are also subject to a process of lengthening called gemination. Gemination is a process whereby one syllable ends with a certain sound and the next syllable begins with the same sound. Gemination occurs in some English words such as "bookkeeper". In Yup'ik marked gemination is indicated by placing an apostrophe after the consonant which is geminated. Thus "ang'uq" (it is big), "mit'ellruuq" (it landed), "taq'uq" (he quits) (compare "taquq" (braid)). Later we shall discuss gemination which is not marked by an apostrophe.

1.15 We have seen examples of long vowels which are indicated by writing the vowel double such as "aana" (mother), "iinruq" (pill), and "uuneq" (burn). This is referred to as double vowel length. In addition, vowels may be pronounced long by virtue of their position within a word. This is known as rhythmic length. It is this phenomenon that gives Yup'ik its characteristic rhythm as distinct from Inupiaq Eskimo. Rhythmically lengthened vowels are not indicated in the writing system since one who knows the system can tell which vowels have this kind of length.

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[1] Many speakers in the Yukon area and along the coast between and including Nelson Island and Hooper Bay - Chevak substitute "c" for initial "s", saying, for example, "cugtuuq" instead of "sugtuuq".

In order to understand rhythmic length one must know how to divide Yup'ik words into syllables. First, divide between pairs of consonants (recalling that "ng" and the double fricatives "vv", "ll", "ss", "gg", and "rr" are considered single consonants). Then, whenever a configuration of the form "VCV" occurs (where "C" stands for consonant and "V" stands for vowel), divide between the first vowel and the consonant. For instance, the word "angyalingaicugnarquq" (he probably won't make a boat) is divided: ang/ya/li/ngai/cug/nar/quq.

An apostrophe which indicates marked gemination should be regarded as a consonant for syllabification purposes. Thus "mit'eqatartuq" (it is about to land) is divided: mit/'e/qa/tar/tuq. Other apostrophes do not count as letters for syllabification. Thus "can'get" and "it'gaq" are divided: can'/get and it'/gaq.

A *simple open syllable* is one of the form "V" or "CV". The rule for rhythmic length is that *a prime vowel in the second of a series of two simple open syllables has rhythmic length unless it comes at the end of the word*. For the purpose of indicating rhythmic length we shall use a *hat* "^" over the lengthened vowel.[1] However, this is not part of the final writing system. As an example consider the word "tekituq" (he arrives). We syllabicate it and mark syllables and rhythmic length thus:

te/kî/tuq. "ki" being the second of a series of two simple open syllables
CV CV CVC

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[1] Even though an "e" which is the second of a series of two simple open syllables will not be lengthened, we still may mark it with a hat. Thus in "nutêcuar" (a small gun) the hatted "e" is not lengthened. And we shall refer to such an "e" as a *hatted "e"* even in those cases when we don't mark it but only refer to it when it is about to be suppressed (see Chap. 2.8).

has rhythmic length. In the following two words, although the last six syllables sound dramatically different, this difference does not need to be written because the rules predict it: "pissuqatalliniluni" (apparently about to hunt), which is analyzed: pi/ssû/qa/tâ/lli/nî/lu/ni and "mit'eqatalliniluni"
CV CV CV CV CV CV CV CV

mit/'e/qâ/ta/llî/ni/lû/ni. In the first example, the final syllable does not
CVC CV CV CV CV CV CV CV

have rhythmic length (in accordance with the rule) even though it is the second of a series of two simple open syllables because it comes at the end of the word. Compare the pronunciation of "elituq" (he learns) and "elisngauq" (he is learned). In the first, the "i" has rhythmic length while in the second it does not because the syllable "lis" is not open.

1.16 In addition to gemination which is marked by an apostrophe after the geminated consonant, there is a type of automatic gemination which is not marked in the writing system but which is predictable from the configuration of the letters around the consonant which gets geminated.

Automatic gemination will occur in two situations.

First is that the consonant following a hatted "e" is geminated, so that the second "m" in "tumêmi" (on the footprint) and the "ń" in "ikamrarpecêńi" (in your$_{pl.}$ sled) are geminated.

Second is that whenever a consonant is preceded by a single non-lengthened vowel and followed by two vowels (alike or unlike), then that consonant is geminated. An example is "nunapicuar" (little tundra), where the "c" is geminated. The words "tekiituq" (he doesn't have ear wax) and "tekituq" (he arrives) have equally long vowels in their middle syllables, though the first has double vowel length and the second has rhythmic length. The only difference in the pronunciation of these two words is that in the first, the "k" is (automatically) geminated, while in the second it is not geminated. Some examples where automatic gemination will not occur despite a consonant being followed by two vowels are "niituq" (he hears) and "ayallruuq" (he left) where gemination cannot occur because a vowel does not precede the consonant in question. In "qayacuar" (a little kayak) and "uicuar" (a little husband), gemination is absent because a hatted vowel or two vowels precede the consonant in question. However, in those few exceptional cases when a consonant that would be geminated by the rule is not geminated, as in "atu'urkaq" (an article of clothing), an apostrophe is put between the two vowels to show that they do not geminate the "t". This is another use of the apostrophe.

1.17 In addition to such features as rhythmic length and automatic gemination, which are not indicated in the writing system because they are predictable, there is also the phenomenon of stress. Certain syllables of a Yup'ik word will be stressed (that is, pronounced with greater volume and emphasis than the other syllables), and this too is predictable with the help of the following three rules.[1]

1. A non-final syllable will receive stress if
   (a) it contains a rhythmically lengthened vowel,
   or (b) it contains two vowels (alike or unlike)
   or (c) it is a closed syllable and is the first syllable of the word,
   or (d) it is a closed syllable and the immediately preceding syllable is unstressed and open.

2. Every even numbered non-final syllable, counting from a syllable stressed by Rule 1, will receive stress if it is closed. Counting

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[1] These stress rules give the stress pattern common in the Kuskokwim, much of the Yukon and on Nelson Island. In other areas, stress is slightly different.
For a formulation which presents rhythmic lengthening and automatic gemination as consequences of stress, refer to the Addendum on page 312.

for the purposes of applying this rule starts again after reaching the next syllable which is already stressed by Rule 1.

3. A syllable preceding one containing two vowels will receive stress.

We shall here use the mark "´" over the vowel of a stressed syllable to mark pronunciation, though like the hat ("^") this is not part of the writing system, since the stress is predictable by the rules.

For example, in "áng/yar/pa/lí/yug/nga/yúg/nar/quq" (he probably is able to make large boats), the syllable "ang" gets stressed by Rule 1(c), the syllable "li" gets stressed by Rule 1(a), and the syllable "yug" gets stressed by Rule 1(d) because the preceding syllable, "nga", is unstressed and open.

In the word "nér/ciq/súg/nar/quq" (he will probably eat), the syllable "ner" is stressed by Rule 1(c) and the syllable "sug" is stressed by Rule 2 since it is the second (and hence an even numbered syllable) following the stressed syllable "ner". On the other hand, in the word "nér/ciq/súg/nár/qaa" (he will probably eat it), the syllable "nar" is stressed in addition to "sug" because "nar" precedes a syllable with two vowels (Rule 3). In fact, the stress on "nar" is more noticeable than that on "sug".

The process known as "ar"-deletion (see Chap. 2.12) may alter the normal pattern of stress. In these cases an apostrophe is written between the vowel and consonant of the affected syllable to indicate that that syllable should receive stress even though the rules for stress given above do not assign it stress, or that it should receive more stress than the rules assign. For example, in "qavartu'rtuq" (he keeps on sleeping), the rules above assign stress only to the syllable "var", but the apostrophe indicates that the syllable "tu'r" is also to be stressed.

1.18 We have seen five uses of the apostrophe so far:

1) to separate "n" and "g" as in "tan'gurraq" (boy),
2) to separate a stop and a voiced fricative or nasal as in "it'gaq" (foot),
3) to indicate marked gemination as in "taq'uq" (he quits),
4) to prevent automatic gemination as in "atu'urkaq" (article of clothing), and
5) to indicate a departure from the usual stress pattern as in "qavartu'rtuq" (he keeps on sleeping).

A sixth use of the apostrophe is to indicate that the end of a word has been dropped. For example, "qaill'" is a shortened form of "qaillun" (how).

1.19 The next symbol we have to discuss is the hyphen. One use of the hyphen is to set off borrowed English words from the Yup'ik endings which have been tacked on to them, as in "pelican-auguq" (it is a pelican). The first part of this is the English word "pelican", and it should be pronounced as it is in English, while the part after the hyphen is a Yup'ik ending and is to be pronounced according to the rules for pronouncing Yup'ik. The English part may also be underlined.

The other use of the hyphen is to separate the main part of a word from another Yup'ik part or parts at the end called enclitics (see Chap. 2.1). Some enclitics begin with a voiceless fricative but this fricative is written double even if the main part of the word ends in a stop, for example, "neqet-llu" (and fish).

Except for the enclitic "=qaa"[1], an enclitic acts like another syllable so far as rhythmic length is concerned. Thus in "nuna-llu" (also land) the "a" has rhythmic length, though it does not in "nuna" (land) since it is at the end of the word. In the word "nuna-qaa" (land?) the "a" of the syllable "na" does not get rhythmic length. Instead the "q" is geminated.

If an open syllable right before an enclitic (other than "=qaa") comes right after an unstressed closed syllable, then the vowel of that open syllable will be lengthened in pronunciation, though it is not written double. For example, the "i" in "qayarpagmi-llu" (also in the big kayak) will be pronounced long because the syllable "mi" comes right after the closed unstressed syllable "pag". However, in "angyarpagmi-llu" (also in the big boat) the vowel of the syllable "mi" is not pronounced long because the preceding syllable is stressed in this word.[2]

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[1] The symbol "=" is used when giving the citation form of an enclitic.

[2] See also the Addendum on page 312.

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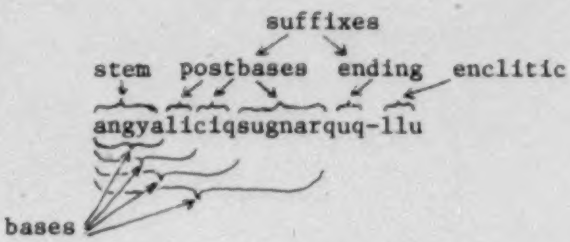
Chapter II Assembling a Yup'ik Word

2.1 A Yup'ik word can have four sections. The first must be the stem. Following that are zero, one, or more postbases. Following the postbases, if any, is one ending. This completes the word proper. There may also be one or more enclitics added onto the end of the word proper and separated from it and from each other by hyphens.[1] The stem carries the core meaning of the word. Postbases serve somewhat the same function as suffixes in English, but they are much more important in Yup'ik. The ending shows grammatical relationships of case or mood, person and number. Most enclitics indicate the speaker's attitude towards what he is saying such as questioning, hoping, reporting, etc.

The word base describes either a stem alone or a stem with one or more postbases attached.[2] The word suffix describes either a postbase or an ending.

As an example:



In this example the stem means "boat", the postbases mean "to make", "to act in the future", and "to probably be acting", the ending shows that the subject is third person singular "he, she or it" and that this is a statement, and the enclitic means "also". The whole word translates as "also, he probably will make a boat."

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[1] Enclitics are presented in this book with the sign "=" to distinguish them from dropping type suffixes (see Chap. 2.4.2) which are presented with minus signs.

[2] One might also speak in some cases of roots which seem to be stems, yet only occur in combination with a restricted number of postbases and never without one of these postbases. See Chap. 25.9 and Chap. 26.4 for examples.

A small number of stems are uninflectable and these cannot take suffixes. Uninflectable stems are conjunctive, adverbial or interjectional in nature. Inflectable bases (including both inflectable stems and inflectable stems with postbases attached) are either nominal or verbal, although some can function as either, and some bases which are normally one can also be used as the other. The same situation happens in English with a word like "boat" which we normally consider to be a noun but which can also be used as a verb in sentences like "We like to boat on the lake."

One kind of postbase attaches to nominal bases, modifies their meanings, and leaves them nominal. A second kind verbalizes nominal bases. A third kind attaches to verbal bases, modifies their meanings and leaves them verbal. And, a fourth kind nominalizes verbal bases. We shall see examples of all four kinds of postbases in the early chapters of this book.

A particular ending is either nominal or verbal with nominal endings attaching only to nominal bases, and verbal endings attaching only to verbal bases.

English parts of speech such as adjectives, prepositions, etc., are not found in Yup'ik. Their functions are filled by the system of postbases and endings.

2.2 The elements of a Yup'ik word cannot be merely placed one after another like words in an English sentence. Instead, certain changes take place at the boundaries between stem and postbase, between one postbase and the next, and between postbase and ending. These are changes in sounds and therefore also in spelling. The same thing happens in English when, for example, we add the pluralizing ending "s" to the word "knife". In this case voiceless "f" becomes voiced "v" and we get "knives".

The changes at the boundary between base and suffix in a Yup'ik word depend on two factors. One is the class of the base. For the most part the class of a base can be determined by examining the configuration of sounds (and therefore letters) at the end of the base. The second factor is the type of suffix which is being attached. Suffixes fall into about a dozen different types depending upon the pattern in which they attach to bases in the various classes. Which pattern a particular suffix follows can be partly determined by examining the configuration of sounds at the beginning of that suffix, and partly by observing its behavior with various bases. In this grammar book suffixes are presented with a sign preceding them. The sign indicates what type the suffix is, that is, which pattern it follows in being attached to bases. The meanings of the various signs are explained below, and will be explained again in subsequent chapters.

In the vocabulary sections of this book nouns are presented in their simplest form, the form that is used for naming things (unpossessed absolutive singular). Generally it is a simple matter to determine what the base is from this form and to determine what class the base is. Verbs, however, are presented in their base form directly even though this form is rather artificial in that it never appears alone in actual use.[1] The reason we present verbs in the base form is that no single verb-base-plus-ending combination gives enough information to enable one to determine exactly what the base is. Bases are always shown ending with a hyphen to indicate that they are only bases and not actual words.[1] Thus, noun: "angun" (man), but verb base: "qavar-" (to sleep).

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[1] Most of the vocabulary words cannot be broken down into simpler parts. Thus it might be more correct to speak of stems rather than bases here. However, in some cases a particular stem-plus-postbase combination is of such interest that it has been presented as a vocabulary item itself. For this reason we shall generally speak in terms of bases, reserving the word stem for the irreducible core of a word.

2.3 The same system of classes can be used for noun bases and for verb bases. There are *six* classes:

Class I: Bases ending in a single prime vowel, e.g. "cali-", "nuna-"

Class II: Bases ending in two prime vowels, e.g. "ui-", "qercua-"

Class III: Bases ending in "e" not preceded by "t", e.g. "neqe-", "kuve-"

Class IV: Bases ending in "te". This class has three subclasses:

- *IVa*: Bases where a fricative precedes "te", e.g. "piste-", "inarte-"
- *IVb*: Bases where a vowel precedes "te", e.g. "angute-", "elite-",
- *IVc*: Verb bases which are marked by "°" when introduced. This class consists of statives, e.g. "kiircete-°" (to be hot), including all bases which result from expansion by the postbase ":(ng)ite-°" (to lack), e.g. "nerenrite-°" (to not eat, to lack the activity of eating).

Class V: Nouns only, bases ending in "r" preceded by one or two vowels, unless marked with an asterisk. Examples in Class V: "angyar-", "ingrir-", "pengur-", "nukalpiar-"

Class VI: All bases ending in a consonant, other than those in Class V.

Includes:
1) all verb bases ending in "g" or "r", e.g. "ayag-", "yurar-", "eqiur-", "qanr-"
2) all noun bases ending in "g", e.g. "acag-", "yug'-"
3) all noun bases ending in "r" marked with an asterisk, e.g. "tan'gurrar*-", "qiir*-"

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[1] Some nouns which never occur without possessed endings are presented in their base forms followed by the symbol "⌿" which distinguishes them from verb bases.

4) all noun bases ending in "g" or "r" preceded by a consonant or by "e", e.g. "atr-", "yaqulg-", "mer-"

Bases in Classes I through IV are vowel ending bases, those in Class V are weak "r" bases, and those in Class VI are strong consonant bases.[1] The reason for these terms 'strong' and 'weak' will be explained later.

The following sections of Chapter 2 should be considered as reference material. The reader is advised to go on to Chapter 3 at this point, returning to Chapter 2 as necessary.

2.4 Suffixation Patterns

Letters in Parentheses. Certain suffixes are presented starting with a letter in parentheses. The parenthesized letter is used with bases of some classes but not of others. A suffix may have several letters in parentheses, for example one parenthesized letter for use with bases that end in two prime vowels, and another parenthesized letter for use with bases that end in consonants. The most common letters in parentheses are described below. The use of parenthesized letters others than these will be explained as they occur in the text.

"(g)" is used with bases ending in two prime vowels (Class II)

"(ng)" is used with vowel ending bases (Class I through IV)

"(s)" is used with vowel ending bases (Class I through IV)

"(t)" is used with consonant ending bases (Class V through VI)

"(u)" is used with bases ending in "e" or in a consonant (Class III through VI)

For example, adding the suffix "+'$\genfrac{}{}{0pt}{}{(g)}{(t)}$uq" to the bases "cali-", "qia-", "nere-", and "qavar-" gives "caliuq" (he is working), "qiaguq" (he is crying), "ner'uq" (he is eating) and "qavartuq" (he is sleeping) respectively.

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[1] Some speakers treat every final "r" preceded by two vowels as being strong. Also, there is considerable variation over whether "r"s will be strong or weak on some of the bases which we have marked with "*" in this book to indicate strong "r".

"(g)" is used with the base "qia-" and not with the others because only "qia-" ends in two prime vowels. "(t)" is used only with "qavar-" because only this base ends in a consonant.

Insertion of "e" between Identical or Similar Consonants. If any of the following suffixation processes cause two identical consonants, or "r" and "g" (in that order), or "c and "n" (in that order), or "t" and "c" to be adjacent to each other, an "e" is immediately inserted between the two consonants. So adding "∔gemta" to the base "kuig-" gives "kuigegemta" (of our two rivers) (see 2.4.6 on "∔").

Bases containing Geminated Consonants. Monosyllabic bases which end in a consonant and bases which consist of a consonant and vowel followed by "te" have an apostrophe indicating gemination as part of the base. If the geminated consonant is replaced by another consonant in the process of suffixation, the gemination will be transferred to the new consonant whenever possible. Thus, attaching "-pik" to the base "yug'-" gives "Yup'ik" (southwestern Alaskan Eskimo), because "p" from the suffix replaces "g" of the base.

Symbols indicating Suffixation Types. The following sections explain the symbols used to indicate suffixation patterns. A suffix may have several such symbols so long as the patterns represented don't conflict with each other.

2.4.1 Retaining or Adding Type

These suffixes are marked by "+". They are attached to the base without dropping any final consonant from the base. For example, the base "angyar-" and the retaining postbase "+tangqerr-" give the base "angyartangqerr-" as in "angyartangqertuq" (there are boats).

Several of the retaining type suffixes are marked with an apostrophe after the plus sign to indicate that if the suffix is added to a base of the form $\#(C_1)VC_2e$-, then C_2 will be geminated. Thus the base "nere-" and the suffix "$+'\substack{(g)\\(t)}uq$" give "ner'uq" (he is eating), but adding this same suffix to the base "taqsuqe-" gives "taqsuquq" (he is tired) because the conditions for gemination are not met by this base. (see 2.11, rule d, on the dropping of the final "e" of the base).

2.4.2. Dropping Type

Marked by "-", these suffixes drop any final consonant from the base. Thus "angyar-" and the dropping postbase "-pik" give "angyapik" (genuine boat). When a dropping suffix is attached to a base ending in two consonants (in Cr or Cg), the second consonant is replaced by "e".[1] Thus, "yaqulg-" and "-cuar" give "yaqulecuar" (small bird).

2.4.3. Assimilating Type

This is a special kind of dropping suffix. Most (but not all) suffixes which start with a velar, "k", "q", "g", "r", "gg", or "rr", behave this way. These suffixes are marked by "-" before the suffix and by underlining the first letter of the suffix. As with other dropping suffixes, the final consonant (if any) is dropped from the base, and the suffix is attached. However, if the base ends in the back velar "r", and suffix begins with a front velar ("k", "g", or "gg"), the form of the suffix which will be added will have the corresponding back velar ("q", "r", or "rr" respectively) instead of the underlined front velar. For example, attaching the assimilating suffix "-ka" to "panig-" gives "panika" (my daughter). However, attaching this suffix to "qetunrar-" gives "qetunraqa" (my son), with "q" instead of "k", because the base ends in "r". Similarly, if the base ends in the front velar "g", and the suffix begins with a back velar ("q", "r", or "rr"), then the form of the suffix which is added will have the corresponding front velar instead of the underlined back velar. Thus, attaching "-rraq" to "kuig-" gives "kuiggaq" (little river).

If an assimilating suffix is attached to a base ending in "rr" or

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[1] See the Addendum on page 314 for an interpretation of this type of base which eliminates the necessity for this rule.

"gg", then only assimilation occurs and not dropping. For example, the base "nulirr-" and the ending "-ka" give "nulirqa" (my wife).

2.4.4 Eliding or "e" dropping type

These are marked with "~", which indicates that all final "e"s on bases are dropped when attaching these suffixes. Any suffix which is an eliding type will also have another sign to indicate how the suffix affects final consonants on bases. An example is "+̃luku" which when attached to "taringe-" gives "taringluku" (understanding it).

2.4.5 Velar dropping type

This is the pattern followed by suffixes that begin with a vowel or with "(ng)" followed by a vowel. These are marked with ":". First the suffix is added to the base without dropping any final consonant. If this results in one of the velars "g", "r", or "ng" at the boundary between the base and suffix being flanked on both sides by single vowels, at least one of which is prime, then this velar is dropped. For example, when the suffix ":a" is attached to the base "qavar-" we get "qavara" as a first step, and the "r" is dropped because it is flanked by single vowels, giving "qavaa" (sleep!). If this same suffix is attached to "eqiur-" and "qanr-" we get "eqiura" (chop wood!) and "qanra" (speak!). The velar "r" in these two examples is not dropped, because it is preceded by two vowels in "eqiura" and by a consonant in "qanra".

If a velar dropping suffix begins with a velar, this velar is subject to the process of velar dropping. For example, attaching ":(ng)a" to the base "patu-" gives "patunga", since "(ng)" is used with vowel ending bases, but this then becomes "patua" (its cover) since the velar "ng" is flanked by single vowels.

When velar dropping and eliding are both indicated for a suffix, the operation of elision occurs first. Thus, when ":̃(ng)u-" is added to "neqe-" we get "neqengu-" and by elision "neqngu-" as in "neqnguuq" (it is a fish). The velar "ng" is not dropped now because it is no longer flanked by single vowels.

"e" insertion (described in 2.5) can cause further velar dropping.

When a velar is dropped due to a velar-dropping suffix (or a half-retaining suffix - see below), the following changes also occur[1]:

anga → ii   enga → ii   engi → ai
aga → ii   age → ii   ige → ii   uge → uu
are → aa   ire → ii   ure → uu

For example, when the suffix ":(ng)a" is added to the stem "nuna-" we get first "nunanga" and this becomes "nunii" (his land or village).

2.4.6 Half-retaining type

This is the pattern followed by suffixes, other than consonant dropping suffixes, which start with a consonant cluster or consist of a single consonant. It is also the pattern of the unpossessed case endings (Ch. 15, 16, 17).

Marked by "+", these suffixes drop the final "r" from Class V bases (that is weak r bases), but keep the final consonant on Class VI bases (that is strong consonant bases), subject to the process of velar dropping described above.[2] For example, attaching the half-retaining ending "+mek" to the Class V base "arnar-" gives "arnamek" (from the woman), while attaching this ending to the Class VI base "tan'gurrar*-" gives "tan'gurrarmek" (from the lad). In this second example the strong "r" on the base is retained subject to the process of velar-dropping. That process does not occur in this case, however, because the velar "r" is not flanked by single vowels.

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[1] Note that "anga", "aga", "enga" and "age" all go to "ii". Thus when a front velar drops from between non-high vowels, the vowels are raised and fronted. In the other cases the velar merely drops and the only change in the vowels is adjustment of an "e" to allow it to occur next to another vowel.

[2] With those half-retaining type suffixes which start with a consonant cluster, e.g. "+nka", and those that consist of a single consonant, e.g. "+t" (but not the unpossessed case endings such as "+mek"), velar dropping occurs because an "e" is inserted to break an unpermitted consonant cluster (see 2.5). An alternative formulation would be to regard the suffixes in question as starting with "(e)", thus: "+(e)nka, +(e)t" where this "(e)" is used only with bases ending in strong consonants. Under this alternative formulation the velar dropping feature of these suffixes would be a natural consequence of their starting with a vowel in the form in which they are added to the bases where velar dropping may occur.

2.4.7 "te" affecting type

These suffixes are marked by "@". There are several different "te" affecting patterns, the most common of which are listed below. Others, not marked with a subscript, will be described when they occur in the text. All "te" affecting suffixes first drop "e" following "t".

"$@_1$" This is the pattern of suffixes that start with "n". These suffixes drop the "t" of Class IVa bases, and the resulting cluster is voiceless. Thus, "inarte-" and "$@_1$∓ni-" give "inarrni-" as in "inarrnia" (he says she is lying down). With Class IVb and IVc bases, the "t" is retained. So "elite-" and "$@_1$∓ni-" give "elitni-" as in "elitnia" (he says she learned).[1]

"$@_2$" This is the pattern of postbases that start with "ng", "v" or "m". These suffixes drop the "t" of Class IVa bases, and the resulting cluster is voiceless. Thus "inarte-" and "$@_2$∓ngaite-" give "inarrngaite-" as in "inarrngaituq" (he won't lie down). With Class IVb bases, "t" changes to "s", so "elite-" and "$@_2$∓ngaite-" give "elisngaite-" as in "elisngaituq" (he won't learn). With Class IVc bases, "t" changes to "l", so "cukaite-°" and "$@_2$∓ngaite-" give "cukailngaite-" as in "cukailngaituq"

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[1] See footnote 1 on following page.

(he won't be slow).[1]

"$@_3$" This is the pattern of postbases that start with "(u)". With Class IVa bases, the "t" is dropped but the preceding fricative is not devoiced. Thus, "qalarte-" and "$@_3$:(u)te-" give "qalarute-" as in "qalarutuk" (they$_2$ converse). With Class IVb bases, the "t" changes to "y", so "kipute-" and "$@_3$:(u)te-" give "kipuyute-" as in "kipuyutaa" (he buys something for her). With Class IVc bases, the "t" changes to "l", so that "nallunrite-°" and "$@_3$:(u)te-" give "nallunrilute-" as in "nallunrilutuk" (they$_2$ know each other).

With short Class IVb bases which contain a geminated "t", the "t" changes to "s" rather than "y" with this type of suffix. Thus "kit'e-" and "$@_3$:(u)n" give "kis'un" (sinker).

"$@_4$" This is the pattern of verb endings that start with "ng", "g" or "k". These suffixes change "t" from Class IVa and IVb bases to "s", and change "t" from Class IVc bases to "l". For example, when the suffix "$@_4$gu" is added to "kumarte-", we get "kumaresgu"[2] (light it!), but when the same suffix is added to "agtunrite-°", a Class IVc base, we get "agtunrilgu" (don't touch it!).

---

[1] There are a few bases that end in a nasal followed by "te". When a suffix marked with "$@_1$" or "$@_2$" is attached to one of these bases, it can treat the base as if it were a Class IVb base with an "e" between the nasal and the "te", or it can drop the "te" and devoice the first consonant of the suffix. Thus, adding "$@_1$~+ni-" and an ending to "tatamte-" gives either "tatametnia" or "tatamńia" (he says he startled her), while adding "$@_2$~+ngaite-" to "tatamte-" gives either "tatamesngaitaa" or "tatamngaitaa" (he won't startle her).

[2] See 2.5 for "e"-insertion.

"$@_5$" This is the pattern of suffixes that start with "c" or "p". These suffixes drop all "t"s. For example, "inarte-" and "$@_5\tilde{+}$ci" give "inarci" (you$_{pl.}$ lie down).

The following chart summarizes the different "te" affecting patterns. "t → ∅" means that "t" is dropped.

1. Drop "e" following "t" on stem.

2. Change "t" as follows:

<table>
<tr><th>suffixes start with:</th><th>type:</th><th>IVa</th><th>IVb</th><th>IVc</th></tr>
<tr><td>n</td><td>$@_1$</td><td rowspan="2">t → ∅ and resulting cluster voiceless</td><td colspan="2">t → t</td></tr>
<tr><td>ng, m, v (postbases)</td><td>$@_2$</td><td>t → s</td><td rowspan="3">t → l</td></tr>
<tr><td>(u)</td><td>$@_3$</td><td>t → ∅</td><td>t → y</td></tr>
<tr><td>ng, g, k (endings)</td><td>$@_4$</td><td colspan="2">t → s</td></tr>
<tr><td>c, p</td><td>$@_5$</td><td colspan="3">t → ∅</td></tr>
</table>

3. Add suffix.

2.5 "e"-insertion

As each suffix is added in forming a word, "e"s are inserted to break unpermitted consonant clusters. It is a feature of Yup'ik that clusters of three or more consonants are not permitted within a word, nor are there clusters of two consonants at the beginning or end of a word.

A two-consonant cluster at the beginning or end of a word is broken by inserting "e" between the consonants. So "qiirn" becomes "qiiren" (your gray hair).

A three-consonant cluster is generally broken by inserting "e" between the first and second consonants unless the second consonant is "t", in which case the "e" goes after the "t".[1] Thus "kenkluku" becomes "kenekluku" (loving him), but "qimugtnguuq" becomes "qimugtenguuq" (it is a dog).

A four-consonant cluster is broken with an "e" in the middle.

In some cases consonant clusters can be broken in several ways depending upon the order in which the above "e"-insertion rules are applied. Starting with "malrunlgn", one can break the four-consonant cluster "nlgn" first, getting "malrunlegn" and then break the two-consonant cluster "gn" at the end to get "malrunlegen" (seven). Or one can break the two-consonant cluster "gn" first, to get "malrunlgen" and then break the three-consonant cluster to get "malrunelgen" (seven). In fact, both pronunciations, "malrunlegen" and "malrunelgen", are heard for this word.

Fricatives which *preceded* stops before the insertion of "e", become voiced after "e"-insertion. Thus, adding "+t" to "qiir-" gives "qiirt" and by "e"-insertion this becomes "qiiret" (gray hairs). Here the "r" becomes voiced. On the other hand, "e"-insertion does not cause fricatives and nasals that *followed* stops before the insertion of "e" to become voiced after insertion. For example, if we add "+tgun" to "kuig-", we get "kuigtgun" and since the middle letter of the cluster "gtg" is "t", we insert "e" between "t" and the second "g". But this second "g" remains voiceless and we indicate this by doubling it: "kuigteggun" (through the rivers).

There is one circumstance when "e" insertion does cause a fricative that followed a stop to become voiced. This is when a fricative at the end of a base follows a voiceless consonant prior to "e"-insertion.[2] Thus, "nutg-" and "@~+luku" give "nutgluku", hence "nutegluku" (shooting it).

---

[1] The postbases "+sqe-" and "@$_1$~+narqe-" are never split by "e"-insertion. We always insert "e" after "q" (if it has been removed by an eliding suffix). Thus we get "ayaasqelluku" (asking him to leave) rather than "ayaasseqluku". However, with "@$_1$~+narqe-" the "r" is commonly dropped to eliminate an unpermitted cluster. Thus, "qavarnaqluni" (causing sleepiness) is more common than "qavarnarqelluni".

[2] See also the Addendum on page 314.

Here the "g" does not stay voiceless and is not written double even though in the intermediate form and on the base the "g" followed the stop "t".

2.6 After "e"-insertion, the process of velar dropping and making the changes described in 2.4.5 is completed. For example, "maklag-" and "+t" give "maklagt" which becomes "maklaget" by "e"-insertion. The velar "g" is flanked by single vowels and so it is dropped, but the combination "age" goes to "ii" (see 2.4.5), so the final form is "makliit" (bearded seals).

This velar dropping after "e"-insertion only occurs if the "e" has been inserted between the velar in question and the velar dropping suffix, as in "maklag-" and "+t", giving "maklagt", hence "maklaget", hence "makliit". An example where velar dropping does not occur is when ":(ng)i" is attached to the base "asvr-", giving "asvri", hence by "e"-insertion, "asevri" or "asveri" (its walruses). In the latter case the velar "r" does not drop even though it is flanked by single vowels, because the "e" has been inserted between part of the base and the velar in question rather than between the velar and the suffix.

2.7 At this stage in assembling a word, if "y" comes right after a voiceless consonant (stop or voiceless fricative), then "y" changes to "s", Thus "keggyug-" becomes "keggsug-" as in "keggsugtuq" (it wants to bite), and "taqyug-" becomes "taqsug-" as in "taqsugtuq" (he wants to quit).[1] Furthermore, "ts" becomes "c", so "elityug-" becomes "elitsug-" which becomes "elicug-" as in "elicugtuq" (he wants to learn). In these three examples the eliding suffix "+yug-" has been added to the bases "kegge-" "taqe-", and "elite-" respectively, and this is the reason that "y" appears right after "gg", "q", and "t" in the intermediate forms.

---

[1] Note that this rule merely concerns spelling conventions since the voiceless counterpart of "y" is written "s" after a stop.

2.8 Suppression of hatted "e"s

Any hatted "e", that is, "e" subject to rhythmic lengthening (see Chap. 1.15) is dropped from the spelling and pronunciation. An example of hatted "e" suppression is when the suffix "-cuar" is attached to "tume-" giving "tumêcuar", hence "tumcuar" (a small footprint). However, an "e" which separates two identical or similar consonants (see Chap. 2.4) will not be suppressed even though it is in a hatted position. So the first "e" in "nutêteng" (their own guns) will not be suppressed.[1]

If a fricative is voiced before the suppression of a hatted "e" it remains voiced afterwards even if suppressing the "e" causes the fricative to come right after a voiceless consonant. Thus, attaching the suffix "-lek" to the base "tepe-" gives "tepêlek" and the hatted "e" is suppressed but the "l" remains voiced so we write "tep'lek" (one having an odor) (see Chap. 1.12 for this use of the apostrophe).[2]

---

[1] The rules about "y" and "s" in 2.7 are not invoked again after suppression of hatted "e". Thus attaching "+(r)yug-" and an ending to the base "neqe-" gives "neqêyugtuq", hence "neqyugtuq" (he wants fish), and the "y" here is not devoiced to "s" (no apostrophe is needed to show that "y" is voiced). When the suffix "≃yuite-" and an ending are attached to the base "nutg-" we get "nutêyuituq" (with "e" inserted in accordance with 2.4.3), hence "nutyuituq" (he never shoots), but the rule in 2.7 no longer applies so "ty" does not change to "ts" and "c". Likewise, attaching "-ssiyaag-" and an ending to "kemgite-" gives "kemgitêssiyaagtuq", hence "kemgitsiyaagtuq" (he's too skinny), but the "ts" does not change to "c". (See section 2.10 on undoubling the "s").

[2] Contrast this to the situation where a fricative follows a voiceless consonant due to the suffixation process of elision in which case the fricative does become voiceless. Thus "kepe-" and "@∓luku" give "kepluku" (severing it) with voiceless "l".

In most Yup'ik areas if the suppression of a hatted "e" causes a fricative to come right before a voiceless consonant, then that fricative does become voiceless too. So "nerêciquq" becomes "nerciquq" (he will eat) with voiceless "r" in most areas, but this word is "ner'ciquq" with voiced "r" for some speakers (Hooper Bay, Chevak, parts of the Yukon).[1]

2.9 In addition to suppressing hatted "e"'s many speakers also have the option of suppressing certain "e"s that are not hatted at morpheme boundaries. For example, adding "+ciqe-" and an ending to "qayange-" gives "qayângecîquq" (he will get a kayak), but many speakers can also say "qayangciquq". We cannot yet predict completely where this free variation occurs. It remains a subject for further research.

2.10 Fricative undoubling

If, in the process of suffixation, a double fricative ends up next to a stop, or following another double fricative, then the double fricative in question is written single (but still pronounced voiceless). For example, adding "+'$\begin{Bmatrix}g\\t\end{Bmatrix}$uq" to "qayangqerr-" gives "qayangqerrtuq" and the "r" being next to the stop "t" is undoubled giving "qayangqertuq" (he has a kayak).

Likewise, if a double fricative ends up right after a single fricative, then both are voiceless, so the first is rewritten double and the second is rewritten single. Thus, adding "@‡luku" to "ceńirte-" gives "ceńirlluku" (since this suffix changes "tl" to "ll"), and this is rewritten "ceńirrluku" (visiting him).

Note that these two rules concern spelling and do not change pronunciation.

---

[1] Compare this to the situation where a fricative precedes a voiceless consonant due to attaching a retaining type suffix to a base ending in a fricative. In such a situation the fricative is voiceless for all Yup'ik speakers. Thus, adding "+ciqe-" and an ending to "mer-" gives "merciquq" (he will drink) even for those speakers who say "ner'ciquq".

2.11 Miscellaneous Late Rules

The rules below should be applied after all preceding rules. Here, "#" means end or beginning of a word.

a) r# → q# (unless the process described in 2.12 applies)

b) g# → k#

c 1) Vte# → Vn# (optional in some areas)

2) e# → a# (to be applied after c 1)

d) CeV → CV

e) ti → ci (unless another "i" follows "ti")

f) qar → qer (if the syllable is at a morpheme boundary)

g) C'VV → CVV (except in some loan words)

h) $V_1V_2V_3 \rightarrow V_1V_3$

i 1) #[e]CC → #[e]CeC ("[e]" means weak "e", explained below)

2) #[e] is dropped unless needed (explained below)

Explanation of rules

Rules a through c. From these rules we can see that "r", "g", and "e" change to "q", "k", and "a", respectively, at the end of words (except that "te" following a vowel changes to "n" in most areas).[1] For examples, see Chapter 1, pages 40, 41.

Rule d. An example of this rule is adding the suffix "+'$\begin{matrix}(g)\\(t)\end{matrix}$uq" to "taringe-", giving "taringeuq", hence "taringuq" (he understands). In effect, a prime vowel absorbs an "e" which immediately precedes it.

Rule e. For example, when "+'(g)i-" is added to "tuqute-" the result is "tuqutei-", hence "tuquti-" by Rule d, hence "tuquci-" by Rule e, as in "tuquciuq" (he kills something). So Yup'ik words never have "ti" in them unless followed by another "i" as in "qimugtii" (his dog).

---

[1] Given an abs. sing. noun ending in "a" (but not "ta"), it will be in Class I if the "a" is preceded by "aC" or "iC", and it will be in Class III if the "a" is preceded by "eC" or "uC". Exceptions to this pattern are "nuna" (land), "cella/ella" (world, weather), and "ceña" (shore) which are in Class I, the latter two presumably because they are from "cilla" and "cina" as in Hooper Bay - Chevak. Thus, given an abs. sing. noun ending in "a" one can predict whether the stem ends in "a" too or in "e".

Rule f. An example of this rule is "nipte-" plus "-q̲ar-" plus "-g̲g̲u" giving "nipteqarru", hence "nipteqerru" (please extinguish it). Here the second "e" is no longer subject to suppression even though hatted. In some areas this rule is not applied, and "qar" does not change to "qer".

Rule g. This rule eliminates unnecessary apostrophes. Thus "at'e-" and "+'(g)aa" give "at'eaa", hence "at'aa" by Rule d, hence "ataa" (he is putting it on) by Rule g. The apostrophe is unnecessary since the double vowel already shows gemination. In a few loan words, however, such as "mulut'uuk" (hammer), the apostrophe is kept, indicating that "t" is geminated and the preceding "u" does not have rhythmic length.

Rule h. This rule says that if three vowels occur in a row, then the middle one is dropped. Thus "nallu-" and "+'(g)ai" gives "nalluai" hence "nallui" (he doesn't know them) by this rule.

Rule i. Certain bases begin with a weak "e" followed by two consonants.[1] We indicate that an "e" is weak by enclosing it in square brackets when these bases are presented.

Rule i 1) says that the restriction against a consonant cluster at beginning of a word (see 2.5) also applies to a word which begins with a weak "e" followed by a consonant cluster. An example is given further below.

Rule i 2) says that a weak "e" will be dropped from a word[2] unless it is needed:

---

[1] Some bases of this form begin with initial weak "e" for all dialects, for example "[e]mr-" (water, to drink), while other bases have an initial "e" which is weak in the Yukon and Kuskokwim areas, but not in Hooper Bay or Chevak, an example being "[e]ne-" (house) which takes the form "ene-" in Hooper Bay - Chevak. In this book the Yukon-Kuskokwim forms are used, but the Hooper Bay - Chevak form can be derived by treating the initial "e" as strong and not applying rule i.

[2] Many native speakers, feeling the presence of the weak initial "e", prefer not to drop it in their writing of certain words, thus not applying Rule i 2). In this book we follow Rule i2) except as noted in footnote 1, following page.

(a) to keep the word from being monosyllabic,[1] or

(b) to allow for gemination of the consonant following the "e".

Thus, starting with the base "[e]ne-" for 'house', we have "ena" (a house), where the initial "e" is kept by (a) above, and "eniinek" (from his house) where the initial "e" is kept by (b) above; but "nerpak" (big house), where the initial "e" is dropped by Rule i 2). Compare this last word with "enerpak" (big bone), which is derived from a base where the initial "e" is not weak.

When weak initial "e" is dropped from a word where it is followed by a consonant, a hatted "e", and a second consonant, then that second consonant receives an apostrophe to show marked gemination, since the hatted "e" (which would have signaled automatic gemination, see Chap. 1.16) loses its hat when the initial "e" is dropped. Thus "[e]nêka" becomes "nek'a" by this rule.

The contrast between weak initial "e" and initial "e" which is not weak can be seen by adding the postbase ":̃(ng)u-" to the base "[e]ne-" for 'house' and the base "eke-" for 'fire'. In the first case, one gets "[e]nngu-" hence "[e]nêngu-" by Rule i 1), hence "neng'u-" by Rule i 2) as in "neng'ullruuq" (it was a house). In the second case one gets "ekngu-" as in "ekngullruuq" (it was a fire). Rule i does not apply in this case so "e" is not inserted between "k" and "ng".

---

[1] The base "[e]mr-" for 'water' begins with a weak "e"; however, it is customary to omit this "e" and write "meq" even though strictly speaking we should write "emeq" in accordance with (a) above. However, the initial "e" is virtually silent. Its effect does show up in forms such as "mer'a" (its water).

2.12 "ar"-deletion

In certain suffixes the segment "ar" can be optionally[1] deleted if the "ar" is followed by a consonant or the end of the word.[2] "ar" which is eligible for deletion is enclosed in parentheses when the suffix containing the "ar" is presented.

For example, adding the postbase "-qapiar(ar)-" to the base "neryug-" gives "neryukapiarar-". When the ending "+'$\genfrac{}{}{0pt}{}{(g)}{(t)}$uq" is added after this, the result is "neryukapiarartuq", or "neryukapiartuq" (he wants to eat very much) because the underlined "ar" is followed by a consonant and thus can be deleted. On the other hand, when the ending "+'(g)aa" is added to "neryukapiarar-", the result is "neryukapiararaa" (he wants very much to eat it). Here the "ar" cannot be deleted because it is followed by a vowel rather than a consonant.

When the *zero* suffix "Ø" (that is, the suffix which does not attach anything to the word) is added to the expanded base "qimugkauyar(ar*)-", the result is optionally "qimugkauyar" (a puppy). (Rule b of Section 2.11 is not applied if "ar"-deletion at the end of the word has occurred.)

When the postbase "+'$\genfrac{}{}{0pt}{}{(g)}{(t)}$ur(ar)-" is added to the base "taqsuqe-", the result is "taqsuqûrar-" with the second "u" subject to rhythmic lengthening as shown. If the ending "+'$\genfrac{}{}{0pt}{}{(g)}{(t)}$uq" is added after this, "ar" may be deleted in accordance with the rule above giving "taqsuqûrtuq." The second "u" retains its length, but this length is no longer rhythmic length since this "u" is part of the closed syllable "ur". We indicate that this "u" is long by doubling it, and placing an apostrophe between the two "u"s to show that the lengthened "u" does not cause "q" to geminate. (See Chap. 1.17 for this use of the apostrophe.) The final written form of the word is "taqsuqu'urtuq" (he keeps on being tired).

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[1] Except in Hooper Bay - Chevak, where "ar" cannot be deleted.

[2] These "ar" segments that can be deleted contain a strong "r", and follow "r" or "g".

"ar"-deletion will affect the stress pattern of a word if "ar" is deleted from a sequence of the form "CV$\overset{g}{r}$ar" within the word. We indicate this by placing an apostrophe between "V" and "g" or "r". Thus deleting "ar" from "yurarturartuq" gives "yurartu'rtuq" (he keeps on dancing), where added stress is to be placed on the syllable having the apostrophe (see Chap. 1.19).

2.13 A process related to "ar"-deletion is the optional dropping of "a" when it occurs at a morpheme boundary and is preceded by "Vr" or "Vg" and followed by "q". For example, "qayacuarar*-" and the ending "-ka" give "qayacuararaqa" or "qayacuarqa" (my little kayak).

Another example is when the suffix "+'(g)aqama" is added to the base "ayag-" giving "ayâgaqâma". If the underlined "a" is deleted, the preceding syllable retains its length, but the syllable after the deleted "a" does not. Hence the shortened form is "aya'agqama" (whenever I go). Also, "eritaraqa" can become "erita'rqa" (I plucked it).

2.14 A final stop consonant on a word may be optionally changed to the corresponding fricative if the word is followed by one of the enclitics "=mi", "=kiq", or "=tuq". For example, "ukuk-mi" (how about these two) can become "ukugmi", and "nerlaput-tuq" (I wish that we could eat them) can become "nerlapustuq". No hyphen separating the word proper from the enclitic is written if this change is made.

Chapter III Absolutive Noun (singular, dual and plural)

Vocabulary

abs. sing.	base	English translation
acak	acag-	'aunt (father's sister)'
angyaq	angyar-	'boat' (other than kayak or canoe)
angun	angute-	'man, male human'
arnaq	arnar-	'woman'
asveq	asvr-	'walrus' (also 'kaugpak' [Nelson Island, Hooper Bay - Chevak]
ateq	atr-	'name, namesake'
ciun	ciute-	'ear'
ciuqliq	ciuqlir*-	'the first one'
ena	[e]ne-	'house'
irniaq	irniar-	'child, offspring'
keggun	keggute-	'tooth'
kuik	kuig-	'river'
Kuigpak	Kuigpag-	'the Yukon River'(lit: big river)
kuuvviaq	kuuvviar-	'coffee' (Russian loan word)
mikelnguq	mikelngur*-	'child, little one'
neqa	neqe-	'fish, food'
nuna	nuna-	'place, land, soil, village (often the plural is used for village)'
nukalpiaq	nukalpiar-	'man (in his prime)'
patu	patu-	'lid, cover'
pista	piste-	'servant'
qaiq	qair*-	'wave (on water)'
qayaq	qayar-	'kayak'
qiiq	qiir*-	'gray hair'
qimugta	qimugte-	'dog'

tan'gurraq	tan'gurrar*-	'boy, lad'
tuma	tume-	'footprint, track, trail'
ui	ui-	'husband'
uluaq	uluar*-	'woman's knife (Eskimo style)'
vaqulek	yaqulg-	'bird (often 'duck')' (lit: one having wings)
yuk	yug'-	'person, human being'
Yup'ik	Yup'ig-	'(Yup'ik) Eskimo' (lit: genuine person)
3.4 -r̲pak	-r̲pag-	'big, large N'
3.5 -cuar	-cuar(ar*)-	'small N'
3.6 -pik	-pig-	'real, genuine N'

3.1 Yup'ik nouns can have dual endings as well as singular and plural endings. Dual means exactly two while plural means three or more as far as Yup'ik is concerned. In this book we indicate dual for English nouns with the subscript "2", for example "dogs$_2$" means two dogs while "dogs" means three or more dogs.

There are no counterparts in Yup'ik to the English words "a" and "the". Such distinctions are made grammatically in other ways (see 16.3). Thus a singular word such as 'arnaq' can mean "a woman", "the woman" or just "woman".

In this chapter we discuss the absolutive noun case. This is one of seven cases. The first use of this case is to name things. When someone asks "what's that called?" or "what's the name of that thing?" pointing to an object, the answer that comes back is generally in the absolutive case.

3.2 Singular absolutive has a zero suffix, "0", so it is derived from the base by applying rules a), b) and c) from Chap. 2 Section 2.11. That is, at the end of the word, base final 'r' goes to 'q', 'g' goes to 'k', 'te' goes to 'n' if a vowel comes right before it and to 'ta' if a consonant comes right before it, and other 'e's on bases all go to 'a'.

Examples:

Class (see 2.3)	Base	absolutive singular	
I	patu-	patu	'cover'
II	ui-	ui	'husband'
III	[e]ne-	ena	'house'
IVa	piste-	pista	'servant'
IVb	angute-	angun	'man'
V	angyar-	angyaq	'boat'
VI	mikelngur*-	mikelnguq	'child'
VI	kuig-	kuik	'river'
VI	yaqulg-	yaqulek	'bird'

Notice that absolutive singular nouns end only in a, i, u, k, q or n. The 'e' between 'l' and 'k' in 'yaqulek' comes through the process of 'e'-insertion (see 2.5).

> Drill: Determine which class each of the following bases are in, and give their absolutive singular forms (without referring to the vocabulary): a) acag- b) irniar- c) arnar- d) asvr- e) keggute- f) neqe- g) nuna- h) qimugte- i) qiir*- j) tan'gurrar*- k) yug-

3.3 The dual and plural of nouns are obtained by attaching the endings from the chart on the right to the noun bases. These endings are half-retaining (see 2.4.5 and 2.4.6). This means that they attach directly to vowel ending bases, drop weak 'r' from Class V bases and are added after the final consonant on strong consonant bases. After attaching these endings to strong consonant bases, 'e' is inserted to prevent two-consonant clusters at the ends of words (see 2.5). If, as a result of inserting 'e', the velars 'g' or 'r' are flanked on each side by a single vowel,

ABSOLUTIVE CASE

sing.	plur.	dual
∅	+t	+k

then the velar is dropped. Certain changes must be made then. Specifically, age → ii, ige → ii, uge → uu, are → aa, ire → ii, and ure → uu.

Examples showing the formation of plurals (duals are formed similarly):

Class	Base		
I	nuna-	nunat	'lands'
II	ui-	uit	'husbands'
III	neqe-	neqet	'fishes'
IV	angute-	angutet	'men'
V	arnar-	arnat	'women'
	nukalpiar-	nukalpiat	'men in their prime' ('nukalpiaret' if 'r' is considered strong)
VI	tan'gurrar*-	tan'gurrart → tan'gurraret → tan'gurraat	'boys'
	ciuqlir*-	ciuqlirt → ciuqliret → ciuqliit	'first ones'
	yug'-	yugt → yug'et[1] → yuut	'people'
	acag-	acagt → acaget → aciit	'aunts'
	qiir-	qiirt → qiiret	'grey hairs'
	kuig-	kuigt → kuiget	'rivers'
	atr-	atrt → atret	'names'
	yaqulg-	yaqulgt → yaqulget	'birds'
	asvr-	asvrt → asvret → asevret asvert → asveret	'walruses'

The two versions of 'walruses' in Yup'ik are the result of applying the rules governing insertion of 'e's, in two different orders (see 2.5).

A simplified way of regarding the action of this ending on CV^{g}_{r*} ending bases, is that the last vowel of the base is doubled, and the final consonant replaced with 't', except that 'ag' bases go to 'iit'. Thus 'tan'gurrar*-' and 'tan'gurraat', 'ciuqlir*-' and 'ciuqliit', 'yug-' and 'yuut', 'acag-' and 'aciit'.

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[1] Some speakers stop the process at this stage keeping the geminated 'g'.

Drill: Go back to the vocabulary list and write down the plural and dual forms for all the words on the list (but not '-rpak, -cuar(ar*) or -pik')

3.4 -rpak (N) 'a big, large N' (combining form of this postbase is '-rpag-')

This is an assimilating type postbase (see 2.4.3). With bases that end in a vowel (that is bases from class I through IV) the postbase in the form -rpag-' is added to the base. With consonant ending bases, the consonant on the stem assimilates the initial 'r' of the postbase and in effect we just add 'pag-' directly to the base.

Class	Base	Expanded Base	Absolutive Singular
I	nuna-	nunarpag-	nunarpak 'a big land, a city'
II	ui-	uirpag-	uirpak 'a big husband'
III	[e]ne-	nerpag-[1]	nerpak 'a big house'
IV	qimugte-	qimugterpag-	qimugterpak 'a big dog'
V	angyar-	angyarpag-	angyarpak 'a big boat'
VI	acag-	acagpag-	acagpak 'a big aunt'
VI	kuig-	kuigpag-	kuigpak 'a big river, the Yukon'
VI	asvr-	asverpag-	asverpak 'a big walrus'

Bases expanded by this postbase all belong to class VI even though the unexpanded bases may belong to other classes. Thus the plural and dual of 'angyarpak' 'a big boat', are:

angyarpiit 'big boats'	angyarpiik 'big boats$_2$'

Compare the plural and dual of 'acak' 'aunt', which is also class VI:

aciit 'aunts'	aciik 'aunts$_2$'

---

[1] The base '[e]ne-' is peculiar in that the initial '[e]' is dropped whenever a suffix is attached, unless it is necessary to keep that 'e' to keep the word from having only one syllable, as in 'enet' (houses), or if two vowels follow the 'n', and the 'e' is needed for gemination as in 'enait' (their houses). In the case of '[e]nerpak' the initial 'e' is not needed and so is dropped. (The initial 'e' does not drop for Hooper Bay speakers.) (see also Chap. 2.11)

With class IVb bases a variant of '-r̲pak' is '@vak'. The symbol '@' means that 'te' is changed, in this case to 'l'. So for 'big man' we get either 'anguterpak' or 'angulvak'. For the word 'qimugta' there is a special variant of 'qimugterpak' (big dog). This variant is 'qimulvak'.

Drill: Write the singular, plural and dual forms for the following bases with this postbase added: a) angute- b) tume- c) arnar- d) patu- e) neqe- f) yaqulg- g) tan'gurrar*- h) qayar-

3.5 '-cuar(ar*)-' (N) means 'a small N'. This is a dropping type suffix (see Chap. 2.4.2) which means that it drops final consonants from bases. In addition, the '(ar)' of this postbase may be deleted if it is either followed by a consonant or is at the end of the word. Furthermore, if '(ar)' has been deleted because it was at the end of the word, then the new word-final 'r' does not change to 'q' for most speakers (see Chap. 2.11). Thus the absolutive singular form of this postbase is merely '-cuar', while the plural, based on '-cuarar*-' is '-cuaraat' (compare 'tan'gurrar*-', 'tan'gurraat').

Class	Base	Absolutive Singular		Abs. Plural
I	nuna-	nunacuar	'a small land'	nunacuaraat
II	ui-	uicuar	'a small husband'	uicuaraat
III	[e]ne-	necuar	'a small house'	necuaraat
IV	angute-	angutecuar	'a small man'	angutecuaraat
V	qayar-	qayacuar	'a small kayak'	qayacuaraat
VI	acag-	acacuar	'a small aunt'	acacuaraat
VI	kuig-	kuicuar	'a small river'	kuicuaraat
VI	yaqulg-	yaqulecuar	'a small bird'	yaqulecuaraat

When a dropping type postbase or ending is attached to a class VI base ending in C^r_g, the final consonant on the stem is dropped and replaced with 'e' (see Chap. 2.4.2). This is how we get the 'e' in 'yaqulecuar'.

Drill: Write the singular, plural and dual forms for the following bases expanded by this postbase: a) ciute- b) angyar- c) tume - d) irniar- e) qair*- f) asvr- g) tan'gurrar*-

3.6 '-pik' (N) 'a real, genuine N' (combining form is '-pig-'). This is also a dropping type postbase. In some areas of the Kuskokwim and Bristol Bay a variant of this postbase is '-piaq' (combining form '-piar-').

Class	Base	Absolutive singular	
I	nuna-	nunapik	'real earth, or tundra'
IV	keggute-	keggutepik	'a real tooth (not false)'
V	qayar-	qayapik	'a real kayak'
VI	kuuvviar-	kuuvviapik	'real coffee'
VI	atr-	atpik	'a real name (not a nick name)'

In the last example dropped 'r' is replaced by 'e' in accordance with the rules in 2.4.2 and then this 'e' is suppressed (see 2.8).

Since the combining form of this postbase ends in 'ig' bases expanded by it are in class VI. This means that the 'i' gets doubled when the plural and dual are formed. So we have:

angyapik 'a real boat'
angyapiit 'real boats'
angyapiik 'real boats$_2$'

Compare this to what happens when we form the plural and dual of 'big boat'.

angyarpak 'a big boat'
angyarpiit 'big boats'
angyarpiik 'big boats$_2$'

The 'g' on the base "yug'-" carries its own apostrophe indicating gemination, and this gemination is transferred to the 'p' when '-pik' is added (see 2.4) giving "yup'ik". In the plural and dual we don't have to indicate this gemination since the double 'i' automatically causes gemination: "yupiit" and "yupiik" (see Chap. 1.16).

When the postbase '-pik' is attached to the base '[e]ne-' we get "nep'ik" (a real house)[1]. The apostrophe here indicates gemination. (See Chap. 2.11 for an explanation of this gemination.)

Drill: Write the singular, plural and dual forms for the following noun bases after expanding them with the postbase '-pik'.

a) nukalpiar- b) ciute- c) uluar- d) asvr-

e) patu-

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[1] In Hooper Bay and Chevak where the initial 'e' on this base does not drop, the form is 'enêpik', hence 'enpik' (real house) by supression of hatted 'e'

Exercises:

A. Translate: 1) kuigek 2) pistet 3) tan'gurraat 4) yuuk 5) qimugtet 6) patut 7) qiiret 8) uluaq 9) ciuqliit 10) kuuvviaq 11) yuk 12) keggutet 13) irniat 14) mikelnguut 15) tumet 16) ciun 17) uluarek 18) qairek 19) pistek 20) tuma

B. Give the Yup'ik singular for: 1) enek 2) pistek 3) angyat 4) yuut 5) ciutet 6) tumek 7) nunak 8) asveret 9) yaqulgek 10) aciit 11) atrek 12) qayat 13) qairet 14) tan'gurraak 15) uit 16) keggutek 17) qiirek 18) nukalpiat 19) pistek 20) tumet

C. Translate: 1) rivers 2) husbands 3) servants 4) covers 5) names 6) kayaks 7) boats$_2$ 8) boys 9) walrus$_2$ 10) waves 11) dog 12) birds 13) people 14) aunts$_2$ 15) footprints 16) the first ones$_2$ 17) a husband 18) men$_2$ 19) grey hair (plural) 20) children

D. Translate:

1. yup'ik, yupiit, yugpak, yugpiit, yucuar, yucuaraat
2. qaipiik, qairpiik, qairpak, qayacuar
3. qiipik, qiipiit, qiirpiit, qiicuaraak
4. aterpiik, atpiik, aterpak
5. yaqulegpak, yaqulegpiit, yaqulepiit, yaqulecuar
6. tumerpak, tumpik, tumerpiit, tumcuar
7. ciuqlirpak, ciuqlirpiit, ciuqlipik
8. nep'ik, nepiit, nerpak, nerpiit
9. angyarpak, angyapik, angyarpiik, angyapiik, angyacuar
10. pistepik, pisterpak, pistepiik, pisterpiik
11. ciuterpak, ciutek, ciuterpiik, ciutecuaraak

Chapter IV Intransitive Verbs and Absolutive Nouns

Vocabulary

amiik	'door, entrance' (base: amiig-)
ange-	'to be big or large'
aqui-	'to play physically'
assir-	'to be good, nice or fine'
ayag-	'to go away, leave, depart, start'
ayuqe-	'to resemble, to be like or alike'
ega-	'to cook by boiling' (Yukon word primarily) ('kenir-' [K][1])
elite-	'to learn'
eneq	'bone' (base: enr-) (Hooper Bay - Chevak: 'neneq')
ingriq	'mountain' (base: ingrir-)
kass'aq	'white man' (base: kass'ar-) (Russian loan word)
kegge-	'to bite'
mer-	'to drink' (base can also be: [e]mr-)
mit'e-	'to alight, to land from the air'
nanvaq	'lake' (base: nanvar-)
nere-	'to eat'
pai-	'to stay behind at home, to babysit'
pair-	'to lick'
penguq	'hill' (base: pengur-)
pi-	'to do, say' (these bases take their meaning from context)
pi	'thing'
qasgiq	'men's house, community house'; nowadays often means 'steambath house'; in English this word has become "kashim" (base: qasgir-)
tai-	'to come over'
take-	'to be long, lengthy'
tangrr-	'to see'

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[1] "K" stands for "Kuskokwim", "Y" for "Yukon", "HBC" for "Hooper Bay - Chevak", "BB" for "Bristol Bay", "NI" for "Nelson Island".

taqe-	'to finish or quit'
taringe-	'to understand'
tegganeq	'an elder' (base: tegganr-) (also 'teggneq')
tengssuun	'airplane' (base: tengssuute-)
yurar-	'to dance (Eskimo dance)'
4.4 =llu	'and, also, too'
4.5 -nge- (N,V)	'to acquire N, to begin to V'
4.6 ~:(ng)u-(N)	'to be N'
4.7 -ngqerr- (N)	'to have N'
4.8 +tangqerr- (N)	'there is N at subject'

4.1 The words in the vocabulary list for this chapter which are written with a hyphen are verb bases. Nouns are listed in their absolutive singular forms.

Drill: Determine the class of each noun and verb base in the vocabulary.

Yup'ik verb endings are either intransitive or transitive. Most verb bases can take either type of ending though some take only one type of ending and must first be modified by certain postbases before the other type of ending can be used with them. In this chapter we deal with intransitve endings only. Intransitive endings indicate the person and number of the subject of the verb. As with nouns, number means "singular", "plural" or "dual". Person in Yup'ik can be first person, meaning the speaker ('I', or 'we'); second person, meaning the person spoken to, the listener ('you'); or third person, meaning anyone other than the speaker or listener. The Yup'ik language does not distinguish grammatical gender in its endings. So third person singular can be translated as 'he, she or it', while third person plural is translated as 'they', and third person dual is indicated by 'they_2'.

In this chapter we restrict our attention to intransitive third person indicative endings. (The indicative mood is the family of endings used for making statements, and as we shall see later, "yes - or - no" type questions.)

This group of indicative endings is shown on the right. These endings are added directly to the verb bases. However, '(g)' is used with class II bases (to prevent a three vowel cluster) and '(t)' is used with consonant ending bases (class VI). This '(t)' is sometimes called the mobile 't'.

	s		q
3rd person	p	$+'\begin{matrix}(g)\\(t)\end{matrix}u$	t
	d		k

Notice that the same pattern that we've seen in absolutive noun endings, 'q' for singular, 't' for plural, and 'k' for dual, appear in these verb endings.

Examples:

Class	Base	3s Intransitive	
I	pi-	piuq	'he does, says'
II	pai-	paiguq	'he stays behind at home'
III	nere-	ner'uq	'he is eating'
	taringe-	taringuq	'he understands'
IV	mit'e-	mit'uq	'it is landing'
IV	elite-	elituq	'he is learning'
VI	yurar-	yurartuq	'he is dancing'
	pair-	pairtuq	'it is licking'
	tangrr-	tangertuq	'he is seeing'

The apostrophe in "ner'uq" appears because the base "nere-" is of the form (C)VCe- and the ending is marked with "+'" (see 2.4.1). This apostrophe indicates that the 'r' is geminated (see 1.14). The 'e' of the stem drops (Chap. 2.11 rule d).

The apostrophe in "mit'uq" on the other hand is part of the base.

The 't' in the last three examples, 'yurartuq', 'pairtuq' and 'tangertuq' is the mobile 't'.

In adding the ending "$+'\left\{\begin{matrix}g\\t\end{matrix}\right\}uq$" to the base 'tangrr-' we get first 'tangrrtuq'. Since the voiceless fricative 'rr' is now next to a stop consonant 't', the 'rr' is undoubled (see 2.10) giving 'tangrtuq'. The process of 'e'-insertion (see 2.5) breaks the three consonant cluster here resulting in the final form 'tangertuq'.

The third person plural and dual forms are obtained by replacing 'q' with 't' or 'k'. For example, 'tangertuq' - 'he sees', 'tangertut' - 'they see', 'tangertuk' - 'they$_2$ see'.

Drill: Form the 3rd person intransitive singular, plural and dual forms for the following verb bases and translate them: a) ega- b) taqe- c) ayag- d) tai- e) assir- f) ayuqe- g) mer- h) taringe-

4.2 In chapter III we saw how to form the absolutive singular, dual, and plural of nouns. Nouns with absolutive case endings can function as the subject of verbs with intransitive endings. The endings must agree in number:

Arnaq yurartuq. 'The woman is dancing.'
Arnat yurartut. 'The women are dancing.'
Arnak yurartuk. 'The women$_2$ are dancing.'

Drill: Translate the following:
a) Kass'at ayagtut. b) Kuigpak tak'uq. c) Pista ner'uq. d) Qimugtecuaraat mertut. e) Angutet taringut. f) Tegganret yurartut. g) Qayapik assirtuq. h) Asverpiit taigut. i) The boat is long. j) The bird lands. k) The grey hairs are long. l) The women are staying behind at home. m) The houses$_2$ are big. n) The big man is dancing. o) The little airplanes are landing.

4.3 '=llu' is an enclitic (see 2.1) having the same meaning as the English words 'and', 'too' or 'also'.

Angun arnaq-llu ner'uk. 'The man and the woman are eating.'
Angutet qimugtet-llu taigut. 'Men and dogs are coming over.'
Arnaq-llu yurartuq. 'The woman is also dancing.'

The following postbases are used with noun bases to form verb bases. These verb bases take intransitive endings. (The first postbase '-nge-' can also be used on verb bases and take transitive endings.)

4.4 '-nge-' when used with noun bases means 'to acquire N'. It is not generally used for game animals which are acquired by capture.

Class	Base	Expanded Base	Instransitive 3s	
I	patu-	patunge-	Patunguq.	'It acquires a cover.'
II	ui-	uinge-	Uinguq.	'She acquires a husband, gets married.'
III	[e]ne-	neng'e-	Neng'uq.	'He acquires a house.'
IV	piste-	pistenge-	Pistenguq.	'He acquires a servant.'
V	qayar-	qayange-	Qayanguq.	'He acquires a kayak.'
VI	qayacuar(ar)-	qayacuarange-	Qayacuaranguq.	'He acquires a small kayak.'
	uluar-	uluange-	Uluanguq.	'She acquires an uluaq[1].'
	enr-	ennge-	Ennguq.	'It gets a bone, acquires bones.'

Notice that '(ar)' is not deleted from 'qayacuar(ar)-' when attaching this postbase. This is because '-nge-' drops the final 'r' of 'qayacuar(ar)-' so the '(ar)' can no longer be deleted.

When '-nge-' is attached to 'enr-' the dropped 'r' is replaced with an 'e' giving 'enênge-', and the hatted 'e' is suppressed in accordance with Chap. 2.8, giving the final form.

Drill: Translate:

a) Qayarpanguq. b) Angutet angyacuarangut. c) Pistengut. d) Qimugtecuaranguq. e) Irnianguk. f) She acquires a large genuine uluaq. g) They$_2$ get a big boat. h) It acquires a small cover. i) He gets a big servant.

Added to a verb base, the postbase '-nge-' means 'to begin to V' or 'to start V-ing'. Examples follow:

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[1] We shall adopt into our English vocabulary for this book words such as 'uluaq' and 'nukalpiaq' which are hard to translate concisely.

Class	Base	Expanded base	Intransitive 3s	
I	ega-	egange-	Eganguq.	'She begins to cook.'
II	aqui-	aquinge-	Aquingut.	'They begin to play.'
III	taringe-	taringenge-	Taringenguq.	'He is starting to understand.'
IV	elite-	elitenge-	Elitenguq.	'He is starting to learn.'
VI	yurar-	yurange-	Yuranguq.	'He is starting to dance.'
	pair-	painge-	Painguq.	'It is starting to lick.'
	tangrr-	tangenge-	Tangenguq.	'He is beginning to see.'

Drill: Translate:

a) Tan'gurraq nernguq. b) Mikelnguut aquingut. c) Arnat yurangut. d) Angutet taringengut. e) The dog is starting to play. f) The white men are starting to learn. g) The elders are beginning to dance.

4.6 '?(ng)u-' means 'to be N'. It is used only with noun bases. The '(ng)' is used only with vowel ending bases, that is bases from classes I through IV. This is a velar-dropping postbase and also an eliding postbase. (see 2.4.4 and 2.4.5). The velars 'g', 'r' and 'ng' are dropped in using this postbase only when these velars occur with a single vowel on each side of them. Furthermore, this dropping occurs after the process of eliding, but before the base expanded by this postbase is further expanded by another suffix.

Class	Base	Underlying Expanded Base	Expanded Base	Intransitive 3s	
I	nuna-	nunangu-	nunau-	Nunauguq.	'It is a land.'
II	ui-	uingu-	uingu-	Uinguuq.	'He is a husband.'
III	neqe-	neqngu-	neqngu-	Neqnguuq.	'It is a fish.'
IV	angute-	angutngu-	angutngu-	Angutnguuq.	'He is a man.'
	qimugte-	qimugtngu-	qimugteńgu-	Qimugteńguuq.	'It is a dog.'
V	angyar-	angyaru-	angyau-	Angyauguq.	'It is a boat.'

VI	acag-	acagu-	acau-	Acauguq.	'She is an aunt.'
	kuig-	kuigu-	kuigu-	Kuiguuq.	'It is a river.'
	atr-	atru-	atru-	Atruuq.	'It is a name.'

A number of observations should be made. 'ng' is dropped from 'nunangu-' to give 'nunau-', 'r' is dropped from 'angyaru-' to give 'angyau-', and 'g' is dropped from 'acagu-' to give 'acau-'. These velars are dropped because they occur between single vowels. On the other hand the velars are not dropped in the other examples because they either occur with two vowels before the velar as in 'uingu-' and 'kuigu-' or without any vowel before the velar as in 'neqngu-' and 'angutng-' and 'atru-'. When the base 'qimugte-' is expanded by this postbase we first get 'qimugtngu-' which contains a three consonant cluster. Since the middle consonant of the cluster is 't', we insert 'e' after the 't' (see 2.5). This gives 'qimugteńgu-' with the mark over the 'ng' indicating that it is to be pronounced voiceless (see 1.5) due to its having been next to 't' (the insertion of 'e' does not alter this voicelessness).

When a noun base ending in a $\overline{V}$ or $\overline{V}{}^{g}_{r}$ is expanded by this postbase the result is a base ending in two vowels and therefore in Class II. When an intransitive ending is used on such a stem, '(g)' must be used to prevent a three vowel cluster. This is why we have 'nunauguq', 'angyauguq' and 'acauguq'.

Drill: Translate:

a) Keggutnguuq. b) Kuuvviaruuq. c) Tumerpauguk. d) Nukalpiaruuq. e) Uluapiuguq. f) Qairpaugut. g) Neqerpaugut. h) Yaqulegpauguq. i) Uinguq. j) Uinguuq. k) Pistengut. l) Pisteńguut. m) Qimugtenguq. n) Qimugteńguuq. o) It is a door. p) He is an Eskimo. q) It is an ear. r) It is a big house. s) It is a small cover. t) They are children. u) It is a small dog.

4.7 '-ngqerr-' means 'to have or possess a N or Ns'. When added to noun bases for game animals, the third person endings will refer to place(s), not persons.

Class	Base	Expanded Base	Intransitive 3s	
I	patu-	patungqerr-	Patungqertuq.	'It has a lid.'
II	ui-	uingqerr-	Uingqertuq.	'She has a husband.'
III	[e]ne-	nengqerr-	Nengqertuq.	'He has a house.'
IV	tengssuute-	tengssuutengqerr-	Tengssuutengqertuq.	'He has an airplane.'
V	qayar-	qayangqerr-	Qayangqertuq.	'He has a kayak.'
VI	qayarpag-	qayarpangqerr-	Qayarpangqertuq.	'He has a big kayak.'
	irniar	irniangqerr-	Irniangqertuk.	'They$_2$ have children.'
	enr-	enengqerr-	Enengqertuq.	'It has a bone.'
	asvr-	asvengqerr-	Asvengqertuq.	'It (place) has walruses.'

The expanded bases here end in a consonant so they take 'mobile t' before adding an intransitive ending. The 'r' is undoubled according to the rules for fricative undoubling in 2.10.

In some areas one can substitute the postbase combination '-r̲pau-' ('-r̲pak' and ':̃(ng)u-') for '-r̲pangqerr-' ('-r̲pak' and '-ngqerr-'), particularly with words for body parts. In other areas a postbase, '-r̲pi-' is used for 'having a big N'. Thus for 'he has big ears', one might hear 'ciuterpangqertuq', 'ciuterpauguq' or 'ciuterpiuq' (and also the variants based on 'ciulvak').

Drill: Translate:

a) He has an aunt. b) It has a cover. c) They$_2$ have a big dog. d) They have husbands. e) The houses have people. f) It has big ears. g) He has a genuine kayak. h) They have a servant. i) The community house has a small door. j) She has a big uluaq. k) He has a small airplane. l) Kegguterpangqertuq. m) Qayacuarangqertuq. n) Acangqertut.

o) Yupiit qayapingqertut. p) Enet amiigpangqertut. q) Qimugtengqertuq. r) The man has a large boat. s) The child has a big dog. t) The white men have big houses. u) The men_2 have a big airplane. v) He gets a house. He has a house. It is a house. w) It is a dog. He gets a dog. He has a dog. x) He is a husband. She gets a husband. She has a husband. y) It is a small kayak. He gets a small kayak. He has a small kayak. z) The dog has a house. The dog has a bone.

4.8 '+tangqerr-' means 'there are N there'. If the place indicated by 'there' is to be specified, it is indicated by the subject of the verb. The meaning of this postbase is very similar to the meaning of the previous one. Compare:

Kuik neqengqertuq.	'The river has fish.'
Kuik neqtangqertuq.	'There are fish in the river.' (The river has fish there.)

This is a retaining type postbase which means that it is added on directly to the base (see 2.4.1). "Hatted" 'e', however, is subject to 'e'-suppression in accordance with 2.8.

Class	Base	Expanded Base	Intransitive 3s	
III	[e]ne-	net'angqerr-	Net'angqertuq.	'There are houses.'
III	tume-	tumtangqerr-	Tumtangqertuq.	'There are footprints.'
IV	tengssuute-	tengssuutetangqerr-	Tengssuutetangqertuq.	'There are airplanes.'
V	qayar-	qayartangqerr-	Qayartangqertuq.	'There are kayaks.'
VI	enr-	enertangqerr-	Enertangqertuq.	'There are bones there.'

When a base expanded by the postbase '-cuar(ar*)-' is further expanded by this postbase, the '(ar)' may be deleted. Thus 'necuarartangqertuq' or 'necuartangqertuq' (for 'there are small houses').

Exercises:

A. Translate:

1. Angyarpak tak'uq. 2. Qimugterpak ner'uq. 3. Qayapik assirtuq. 4. Qayarpauguq. 5. Tengssuutecuaranguq. 6. Ingrirpagtangqertuq. 7. Tengssuutecuartangqertuq. 8. Neqerpauguq. 9. Neqerpagtangqertuq. 10. Nunauguq. 11. Nukalpiaq qimulvangqertuq. 12. Yupiit taringut. 13. Kass'at taringengut. 14. Angutet qimugtet-llu ayagtut. 15. Yupiugut. 16. Tan'gurraq qayacuarangqertuq. 17. Mikelnguut aquingut. 18. Tumcuaraugut. 19. Arnat mikelnguut-llu yurangut. 20. Nerpak amiicuarangqertuq. 21. Patucuarangqertuq. 22. Arnaq uluarpangqertuq. 23. Tegganruut. 24. Qimugtenguq. 25. Qimugtenguuq. 26. Necuarangqertuq. 27. Mikelnguugut. 28. Nukalpiartangqertuq. 29. Qimugtecuaraat assirtut. 30. Tan'gurraq qayacuaranguq. 31. Angutet ang'ut. 32. Anguterpaugut. 33. Arnaq uluapinguq. 34. Pengucuarauguq. 35. Arnaq-llu yurartuq. 36. Tegganrek yurartuk. 37. Kuicuarauguq. 38. Nanvarpaugut. 39. Enerpauguk. 40. Ayuquk. 41. Yuut elitut. 42. Ingrirpauguq. 43. Arnat egangut.

B. Translate:

1. The little bird lands. 2. The women are staying behind at home. 3. He has a big kayak. 4. It is a real house. 5. It is a door. 6. The man has a big house. 7. There is a big lake (there). 8. He acquires land. 9. The walruses are drinking. 10. The boys$_2$ are alike. 11. He gets a big boat. 12. He is a man. 13. The elders are dancing. 14. The white men have big airplanes. 15. There are fish in the river. 16. It is an uluaq. 17. The houses have people. 18. He is beginning to eat. 19. It is an ear. 20. She has a husband. 21. It is a small lid. 22. It is a big lake. 23. It is a dog. 24. He gets a dog. 25. He has a dog. 26. There is a house. 27. It is a big fish. 28. The community house is large. 29. It is a large community house.

30. The two big women are beginning to dance. 31. The little birds are beginning to land. 32. The big dogs are drinking. 33. The two big airplanes land. 34. The boys are playing. 35. The boys are starting to play. 36. The nukalpiaqs are going away. 37. They$_2$ get a baby (acquire an offspring). 38. He is a big person. 39. He is a little person. 40. They are small waves. 41. It is genuine coffee. 42. The woman gets married. 43. It's the Yukon River. 44. It's a grey hair. 45. He quits.

Chapter V Transitive Verbs

Vocabulary[1]

aana	'mother'
aata	'father'
amar-	'to carry on back'
amiq	'skin'
apete-	'to ask' (the "e" is often hatted, and suppressed)
atur-	'to use, wear, or sing'
carayak	'bear', in some areas: 'monster' ('taqukaq' brown bear, but 'seal' on Nelson I.; 'tan'gerliq' black bear)
egan	'cooking pot'
elag-	'to dig'
ikirte-	'to open'
ini-	'to hang up' (usually for drying)
issran	'tote bag, carrying bag' (often made of grass)
kipute-	'to buy'
kiu-	'to answer'
mingqe-	'to sew'
mingqun	'needle'
muir-	'to fill up, to be full'
mumigte-	'to turn over, to translate'
nallu-	'to not know, to be ignorant (of)'
navg-	'to break, shatter, crush, damage'
pairte-	'to encounter, to meet'

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[1] Starting with this chapter's vocabulary, nouns will be given in their absolutive singular forms only. Base forms will not be listed. If an absolutive noun ends in "a" but the base ends in "e" (Class III), a raised "e" will be written at the end of the word. For example, "tuma^{e}" (Class III), but "nuna" (Class I). If a base ends in "r*" the "*" will be written after the final "q" of the absolutive singular. For example, "tan'gurraq*". Verbs will continue to be given in their base forms.

panik	'daughter'
pissur-	'to hunt'
qantaq	'bowl, dish, plate'
qetunraq*	'son'
qia-	'to cry' (also 'qeya-' [some of Yukon, Hooper Bay, Chevak])
qilug-	'to bark, to bark at'
tamar-	'to be misplaced, to lose or misplace'
tegleg-	'to steal'
tegu-	'to take, to take in hand, to grasp'
tuntu	'caribou' (in some areas: 'reindeer')
tuntuvak	'moose'
uiluq	'clam, clamshell, spoon' (also 'luuskaaq' (Russ.) for 'spoon')
yaassiik	'box' (Russian loan word)
5.4 -ke- (N)	'to have as one's N'

5.1 In this chapter we deal with third person transitive verbs. Transitive verb endings differ from the intransitive endings presented in Chapter 4 in that the transitive endings indicate person and number of both subject and object, whereas intransitive endings give information only about the subject. Compare the following sentences:

Intransitive	Transitive
He sees. (Tangertuq.)	He sees him. (Tangrraa.)
	He sees them. (Tangrrai.)
They see. (Tangertut.)	They see him. (Tangrraat.)
	They see them. (Tangrrait.)

The chart at the right shows the transitive verb endings for 3rd person subject and object. The '(g)' is used with class II verb bases to prevent a three vowel cluster.

			OBJECT		
			sing.	pl.	dual
SUBJECT	s.	+'(g)a	a	i	k
	p.		at	it	gket
	d.		ak	kek	gkek or kek

However, the "mobile t" is not used with transitive endings. The first 'a' is sometimes called the transitive marker. With a class I verb base this transitive marker is dropped if retention of it would result in a three vowel cluster. Thus adding the transitive ending "+'(g)aa" to "nallu-" gives 'nallua' (rather than 'nalluaa') meaning 'he doesn't know it'. (See Rule h of Chap. 2.11.)

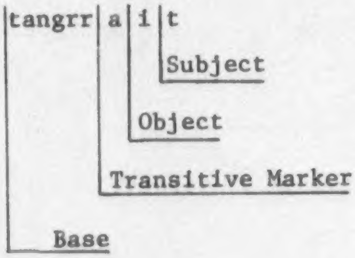
In order to indicate which particular transitive ending we are talking about we use the following abbreviations, presented in the same arrangement as the table of endings above:

The subject is indicated to the left of the hyphen and the object to the right, but keep in mind that the order of occurrence in the Yup'ik word places the object before the subject.

3s-3s	3s-3p	3s-3d
3p-3s	3p-3p	3p-3d
3d-3s	3d-3p	3d-3d

For example:

tangrrait



Examples:

3s-3s	tangrraa	'he sees it'
3s-3p	aptai	'he asks them'
3s-3d	kiputak	'he buys them$_2$'
3p-3s	mumigtaat	'they turn it over'
3p-3p	nerait	'they eat them'
3p-3d	nalluagket	'they don't know them$_2$'
3d-3s	aturaak	'they$_2$ use it'
3d-3p	kiugakek	'they$_2$ answer them'
3d-3d	pairtagkek	'they$_2$ encounter them$_2$'

The chart below shows another way to look at 3rd person subject - 3rd person object transitive endings.

transitive marker		object indicator	subject indicator
+'(g)a	sing	a	0
	plur	i	t
	dual	g	k

First the transitive marker is added to the base. Then the appropriate object indicator, "a", "i", or "g" is added, and then the appropriate subject indicator 0, "t", or "k". Then, if necessary, one of the four following rules must be applied.

(1) ik ⟶ kek. For example, 'tangrraik' ⟶ 'tangrrakek' (they$_2$ see them)
(2) g# ⟶ k. For example, 'tangrrag' ⟶ 'tangrrak' (they$_2$ see him)
(3) gk ⟶ gkek. For example, 'tangrragk' ⟶ 'tangrragkek' (they$_2$ see them$_2$)
(4) gt ⟶ gket. For example, 'tangrragt' ⟶ 'tangrragket' (they$_2$ see them)

Further examples from each class in their 3s-3s, 3p-3p, and 3d-3d forms:

Class	Base	3s-3s	3p-3p	3d-3d
I	pi-	pia	piit	piagkek
II	pai-	paigaa	paigait	paigagkek
III	nere-	neraa	nerait	ner'agkek
IV	pairte-	pairtaa	pairtait	pairtagkek
VI	tamar-	tamaraa	tamarait	tamaragkek
	pair-	pairaa	pairait	pairagkek

Drill: Translate each of the forms presented above.

5.2 Compare the intransitive (3s) and transitive (3s-3s) forms below.

Class	Base	Intransitive 3s		Transitive 3s-3s	
I	nallu-	nalluuq	'he doesn't know'	nallua	'he doesn't know it'
II	kiu-	kiuguq	'he answers'	kiugaa	'he answers him'
III	taqe-	taq'uq	'he finishes'	taqaa	'he finishes it'
	taringe-	taringuq	'he understands'	taringaa	'he understands it'
IV	elite-	elituq	'he learns'	elitaa	'he learns it'
VI	tamar-	tamartuq	'it is lost'	tamaraa	'he loses it'
	amar-	amartuq	'he backpacks'	amaraa	'he backpacks it'
	pair-	pairtuq	'it licks'	pairaa	'it licks it'
	tegleg-	teglegtuq	'he steals'	teglegaa	'he steals it'

Note that the base of a verb can be determined if one knows both the intransitive and transitive forms. For example, when one hears the word 'qilugtuq' (it is barking) one can not tell from this form alone whether the base is 'qilug-' or 'qilugte-'. However, the transitive 'qilugaa' (it barks at him) tells us that the base must be 'qilug-' and that the 't' in 'qilugtuq' is the "mobile t" and not part of the base.

Compare:

pair-	Pairtuq.	'It licks.'	Pairaa.	'It licks it.'
pairte-	Pairtuq.	'He encounters.'	Pairtaa.	'He encounters him.'
pai-	Paiguq.	'He stays behind.'	Paigaa.	'He stays behind with him.'
navg-	Navegtuq.	'It breaks.'	Navgaa.	'He breaks it.'
mumigte-	Mumigtuq.	'It turns over.'	Mumigtaa.	'He turns it over.'

5.3 So far we have seen that a noun in the absolutive case can function as the subject of an intransitive verb, as in:

Angyaq tak'uq.	'The boat is long.'
Arnaq assirtuq.	'The woman is nice.'
Angutet tangertut.	'The men are seeing.'

When a noun in the absolutive case occurs with a transitive verb, it functions as the object:

Angyaq kiputaa.	'He buys the boat.'
Arnaq kiugaa.	'He answers the woman.'
Angutet tangrrai.	'He sees the men.'

If the object is singular, then the transitive verb ending must be one that indicates that the object is singular. Likewise if the object is plural, or dual, then the verb must have a transitive ending which indicates that the object is plural, or dual respectively. For example the sentence, *"Qayaq tangrrait."[1] is grammatically incorrect because the object, 'qayaq', is singular but the verb indicates that the object is plural.

Some examples of grammatical agreement between object and verb ending:

Angyaq kiputaa.	'He buys the boat.'
Angyat kiputai.	'He buys the boats.'
Angyak kiputak.	'He buys the boats$_2$.'

---

[1] An asterisk in front of an example means that the example is not an acceptable form.

Angyaq kiputaat.	'They buy the boat.'
Angyat kiputait.	'They buy the boats.'
Angyak kiputagket.	'They buy the boats$_2$.'

Angyaq kiputaak.	'They$_2$ buy the boat.'
Angyat kiputakek.	'They$_2$ buy the boats.'
Angyak kiputa(g)kek.	'They$_2$ buy the boats$_2$.'

Further examples:

Ateq nallua.	'He doesn't know the name.'
Angutet aptai.	'He asks the men.'
Tuntuk qilugak.	'It barks at the reindeer$_2$.'
Qayaq mumigtaat.	'They turn over the kayak.'
Arnat tangrrait.	'They see the women.'
Angyak kiputagket.	'They buy the boats$_2$.'
Angun kiugaak.	'They$_2$ answer the man.'
Mikelnguut paigakek.	'They$_2$ stay with (babysit) the children.'

Drill: Translate:

1) a) Amiik ikirtaa. b) Atret nallui. c) Angyacuar mumigtaa. d) Mikelnguq amaraa. e) Yaassiigpak tegua. f) Aptaa angun. g) Qantaq navgaa. h) Kass'aq nalluat. i) Uilucuar teglegaa. j) Taqaa. k) Tuntuq qilugaa. (the 'q' on 'tuntuq' is optional) l) Asveret pissurait. m) Mingqai. n) Uluaq tamaraa. o) Angutek pairtak. p) Mikelnguut kiugai. q) Nukalpiaq pissurtuq. r) Amiik ikirtuq. s) Carayiit tangrrait. t) Qimugta tamartuq.

2) a) He hangs up the skin. b) She learns the name. c) He loses the little uluaq. d) It licks the bowls. e) He sees the women. f) She boils the

fish. g) He's using the boat. h) She encounters the boys. i) It barks at the caribou (pl.). j) They steal the tote bags. k) She takes the little uluaq. l) He understands the white man. m) He hunts the large bears. n) She sees the little bears. o) They steal the spoons.

When the postbase '-nge-'(see 4.4) is used on a verb stem, it can take transitive endings.

Taringengaa.	'He begins to understand her.'
Nerngaa.	'He starts to eat it.'

Drill: Translate:

a) She begins to sew the tote bag. b) He starts to turn over the kayak. c) She begins to fill up the plate. d) They begin to learn it. e) He begins to cook it. f) He begins to finish it.

5.4 '-ke-' (N) means 'subject has object as its N'. As can be seen from the meaning of this postbase, it can only be used with transitive endings.

This is an assimilating type postbase (see 2.4.3 and 3.4). After bases that end in a vowel, 'ke-' is added. With bases that end in 'g', 'ke-' is also used and the 'g' is dropped. However, with bases that end in 'r', the 'r' is dropped and 'qe-' is used rather than 'ke-'.

Class	Base	Expanded Base	Transitive 3s-3s	
I	aata-	aatake-	aatakaa	'he is her father' ('she has him as father')
II	ui-	uike-	uikaa	'he is her husband'
III	[e]ne-	nek'e-	nekaa	'it is his house' ('he has it as house')
IV	qimugte-	qimugteke-	qimugtekaa	'it is his dog'
V	qayar	qayaqe-	qayaqaa	'it is his kayak'
VI	acag-	acake-	acakaa	'she is his aunt'
	[e]necuar(ar*)-	necuaraqe-	necuaraqaa or necuarqaa 'it is his little house' (the second form, which is quite common in the Kuskowkim area, is the result of deleting 'a' between 'r' and 'q' at a morpheme boundary. See Chap. 2.13.)	

kuig-	kuike-	kuikaa	'it is his river'
atr-	atqe-	atqaa	'it is his name'

Further examples:

Qimugtekaa.	'It is his dog.'	(He has it as his dog.)
Qimugtekai.	'They are his dogs.'	(He has them as dogs.)
Qimugtekak.	'They$_2$ are his dogs.	(He has them$_2$ as dogs.)
Qimugtekakek.	'They are their$_2$ dogs.'	(They$_2$ have them as dogs.)

Drill: Translate:

1. a) Uiluqaa. b) Aanakaa. c) Tengssuutekaa. d) Egatecuarqaa. e) Pistekait. f) Qantarpakaa. g) Patukaa. h) Panikaa. i) Keggutekai. j) Issratkaa. (Why has the 'e' been dropped from the base "issrate-"?)

2. a) He is her son. b) It is their$_2$ river. c) It is her offspring. d) It is her coffee. e) It is their land. f) They$_2$ are his footprints. g) It is his big house. h) It is her little uluaq. i) It is her gray hair (sing.).

If we wish to indicate what thing it is that the subject has, the noun denoting that thing will be the object of the verb and therefore in the absolutive case.

Kass'aq uikaa.	'The white man is her husband.'	('She has the white man as her husband.')
Angutecuar aatakaat.	'The little man is their father.'	('They have the little man as their father.')

Drill: Translate:

a) Arnacuar aanakaa. b) Tan'gurraak qetunraqak. c) Nukalpiaq aatakaak. d) Mikelngucuar irniaqaak. e) Anguterpak uikaa. f) The little boy is their$_2$ son. c) The servant is her father. d) The boys are their servants.

Exercise:

A. For the following sentences, tell whether the verb is transitive or intransitive, and if the sentence contains a noun, tell whether the noun is a subject or object. Then translate. For example:

Subject ↖ Intransitive verb ↗ Object ↖ Transitive verb ↗

a) Qimugta qilugtuq. b) Angun qilugaa.

1. Angutet tangrrai. 2. Qantat pairait. 3. Tengssuutek kiputak. 4. Arnat aptakek. 5. Angun aptaa. 6. Nukalpiaq taringuq. 7. Yaassiiget muirai. 8. Tuntuq qilugaa. 9. Qimugta kiputaat. 10. Egatek mumigtak. 11. Uilut tamarakek. 12. Tengssuuterpak kiputaak. 13. Qimugtecuar qilugtuq. 14. Issratengqertuq. 15. Issratnguuq. 16. Issrat'nguq. 17. Issratkaa. 18. Carayak pissuraa. 19. Mikelnguut qiagut. 20. Amiiget ikirtait. 21. Mikelnguuk kiugagket. 22. Keggai. 23. Carayiit pissurait. 24. Yuraraa. 25. Angyaq mumigtaat. 26. Yaqulget tangrrait. 27. Kuigpak tangrraa. 28. Nuna elagaa. 29. Qayacuar aturaak. 30. Kuuvviaqaat. 31. Nerpak kiputaa. 32. Necuarqaa. 33. Necuarangqertuq. 34. Necuaranguq. 35. Tengssuutecuaraat kiputait. 36. Ciutekak. 37. Egatet muirai. 38. Atrek nalluagkek (nalluakek). 39. Issratet mingqai. 40. Mikelnguut tangrrait. 41. Teglegait qantacuaraat. 42. Tan'gurraat taringut. 43. Tan'gurraat pistekait. 44. Arnat taigut. 45. Qimugtek qilugtuk. 46. Neqek egaak. 47. Neqa egaak. 48. Qayat aturait. 49. Mikelnguq keggaa. 50. Qantak pairak. 51. Angutek pairtagket. 52. Tengssuutecuar mit'uq. 53. Arnarpiik yuranguk. 54. Pistek qilugagket. 55. Atret nallui.

B. Translate the following sentences into Yup'ik and label the parts of the Yup'ik sentence:

1. He hangs up the skins. 2. He steals the tote bags. 3. She's cooking the fish (pl.). 4. They meet the men$_2$. 5. He turns the kayaks over. 6. They take

the boxes. 7. They_2 hunt the walruses. 8. He has a daughter. 9. She is his daughter. 10. The little spoon is lost. 11. She lost the little spoon. 12. He takes the box. 13. He's using the big kayak. 14. She breaks the dish. 15. He opens the door. 16. The door opens. 17. She sews them. 18. The child is crying. 19. He hunts the bears. 20. He opens the boxes. 21. She backpacks the child. 22. She doesn't know the boy. 23. He asks the white man. 24. The bears are coming over. 25. They are backpacking the children. 26. She loses the little uluaq. 27. They ask the elders. 28. She is staying home with the children. 29. He hangs up the skin. 30. He has a son. 31. He is her son. 32. The men are going away. 33. They are using the kayaks. 34. It is a big house. 35. They are eating the fish (pl.). 36. He buys the little boxes. 37. The woman is staying behind at home. 38. They are hunting the reindeer. 39. They_2 take the bowls_2. 40. It licks the big bowls. 41. They are his clamshells. 42. It is his boat. 43. The children are crying. 44. He is their_2 son. 45. He is their servant. 46. The women are their servants. 47. They_2 eat the big fish. 48. They understand the women_2. 49. They see the big men_2. 50. He finishes it.

C. Translate the following:

1. It's her uluaq. 2. It's her offspring. 3. It's their river. 4. They are her grey hairs. 5. It's his name. 6. They are their footprints. 7. It is his little dog. 8. He is her man. 9. He is their_2 servant. 10. They_2 are his ears. 11. It is his big kayak. 12. The woman is her mother. 13. The man is her father. 14. The children are her offspring.

D. Translate:

1. Egatekai. 2. Qantaqaa. 3. Aanakaa. 4. Aatakaat. 5. Issratkai. 6. Panikaak. 7. Amiqaa. 8. Necuarqaat. 9. Tumcuarqai. 10. Keggutepikai. 11. Angyaqaak.

12. Nekaa. 13. Qimugterpakaat. 14. Ciutecuarqak. 15. Mikelngucuar qetunraqaak.
16. Tan'gurraq pistekaa. 17. Angun uikaa. 18. Mikelnguq panikaak. 19. Kuikaat.
20. Qimugtekait. 21. Qayaqagket. 22. Irniaqakek. 23. Pistekak. 24. Nek'ak.
25. Angyaqait.

E. Determine the bases for the following intransitive/transitive verb pairs:

1. inartuq / inartaa
2. igartuq / igaraa
3. mumigtuq / mumigtaa
4. ig'uq / igaa
5. iirtuq / iiraa
6. nar'uq / naraa

Chapter VI Possessed Absolute Nouns with 3rd Person Endings

Vocabulary

aipaq	'companion, partner, spouse, mate'
alike	'to fear' (trans. only)
alqaq	'older sister' ("al'qaq" [Hooper Bay - Chevak])
anngaq	'older brother'
angalkuq / angalkuk	'shaman'
angak	'uncle, mother's brother'
apa'urluq*[1]	'grandfather'
assike-	'to like' (trans. only)
acsaq / atsaq	'berry, fruit'
atkuk	'parka'
ceńirte-	'to visit (someone living nearby)'
kamguk	'boot (native-made)' (Yukon word mostly) (also 'kameksak' and 'piluguk')
kemek	'flesh, meat'
kipusvik	'store'
kuingiq / kuiniq	'pipe, cigarette' (also 'puyurtuutaq' for pipe, and 'meluguaq' for cigarette)
kuvyaq	'fishnet'
maurluq*	'grandmother' ('anuurluq*' [some parts of Yukon])
mike-	'to be little, small' (also 'mikete-°')[2]
naulluu-	'to be ill' ('nangteqe-' [Y], 'qena-' [Bristol Bay])
nayagaq	'younger sister of male'
nutek	'gun, rifle'
pai	'mouth (of river, bottle, etc.; not anatomical)'
qai	'surface, top'
qaneq	'mouth (anatomical)'

---

[1] The apostrophe between 'a' and 'u' indicates that 'p' is not geminated (see Chap. 1.16).

[2] "°" indicates a Class IVc base. See Chap. 2.3.

qengaq	'nose'
sugtu- / cugtu-	'to be tall (humans)'
talliq	'arm'
taluyaq	'fish trap'
tekite-	'to arrive, to reach destination'
tepa^{e}	'smell, odor, aroma, fermented fish head'
tuqu-	'to die'
tuqute-	'to kill'
uita-	'to stay, be located or situated'
ungak	'a whisker or beard hair'
uyaquq	'neck'
uyuraq*	'younger sibling, brother or sister'
6.3 -lleq (N, V)	'the former N, the one that V-ed or was V-ed'
6.4 -llru- (V)	past action

6.1 In Chapter 3 we saw how to form the singular, dual and plural of nouns in the absolutive case. In addition to these three unpossessed forms, there are possessed endings which give information about the number (sing., plur., dual) and person (1st, 2nd, 3rd) of the possessor of the object as well as the number of the object itself. These possessed endings correspond to possessive pronoun constructions in English. For example: 'my boats', 'your$_2$ boat', 'their boats$_2$'.

In this chapter we deal only with endings having a third person possessor (his, her, its, their), and only with those 3rd person endings where the possessor is someone other than the subject of the sentence. That is , we will see here how to say, 'He turns over his (someone else's) boat'. The group of endings used to say, 'He turns over his (own) boat', as well as endings with 1st and 2nd person possessor will be presented in Chapter 9.

The endings in the chart on the right are attached to noun stems using the rules in Chap. 2.4.5 and 2.4.6. Note: under velar dropping,

(1) anga → ii
(2) enga → ii
(3) engi → ai
(4) aga → ii

			sing.	plural	dual
unpossessed →			0	+t	+k
			possessed		
possessor	3rd pers.	s.	:(ng)a	:(ng)i	+k
		pl.	:(ng)at	:(ng)it	+gket
		d.	:(ng)ak	-kek	+gkek or -kek

(Notice that these endings are similar to the transitive verb endings of Chap. 5)

Class	Base	3s-s	3p-p
I	patu-	patua 'its cover' [from 'patunga']	patuit 'their covers'
	nuna-	nu[illegible] his land' [from 'nunanga' & (1)]	nunait 'their lands'
II	ui-	uinga 'her husband'	uingit 'their husbands'
III	[e]ne-	enii 'his house' [from 'enenga' & (2)]	enait 'their houses'[(3)]
IV	piste-	pistii 'his servant' [see (2) above]	pistait 'their servants[(3)]
V	angyar-	angyaa[1] 'his boat' [from angyara']	angyait 'their boats'
	uyaqur-	uyaqua[2] 'his neck' [from 'uyaqura']	uyaquit 'their necks'
VI	atkug-	atkua[3] his parka' [from 'atkuga']	atkui 'their parkas'
	acag-	acii 'his aunt' [from 'acaga' & (4)]	acait 'their aunts'
	kuig-	kuiga 'his river'	kuigit 'their rivers'
	atr-	atra 'his name'	atrit 'their names'

Drill: For the following words, write and translate the following forms:

3s-s, 3p-s, 3d-s, 3s-p, 3p-p: a) nuna b) maurluq c) acak d) kuik e) ciuqliq f) aipaq g) atkuk h) egan i) alqaq j) nutek k) qayaq

---

[1] An alternate form for some speakers is 'angyii' letting 'ara → ii'. This happens expecially with '-ar*' bases, e.g. 'tan'gurrii' (her boy)

[2] Alternate forms are 'uyaqurra' and 'uyaqu͡rra' (see Chap. 1.4). This can happen with all anatomical words ending in 'quq'.

[3] An alternate form is 'atkugga' for this word.

Here are some more examples. Notice that the 3d-p ending '-kek' is a dropping ending unlike the others and that the dual possessed endings are all half retaining. In fact, the 3s-d possessed ending is identical to the unpossessed dual ending '÷k'.

Class	Base	3d-p	3p-d
V	qayar-	qayakek 'their$_2$ kayaks'	qayagket 'their kayaks$_2$'
VI	tan'gurrar*-	tan'gurrakek 'their$_2$ boys'	tan'gurraagket 'their boys$_2$'
	acag-	acakek 'their$_2$ aunts'	aciigket 'their aunts$_2$'
	kuig-	kuikek 'their$_2$ rivers'	kuigegket 'their rivers$_2$'
	nutg-	nutkek 'their$_2$ guns'	nutgegket 'their guns$_2$'

Since 'qayar-' is a class V base, we just drop 'r' when adding the ending '÷gket'. However, 'tan'gurrar*-' is a class VI base so 'gket' is added without dropping the 'r' on the stem, and 'e' is inserted to separate 'r' and 'g' (see Chap. 2.4) giving 'tan'gurraregket'. Velar dropping occurs giving the final form with 'aa' before 'gket'. This is because under velar dropping 'are → aa'. In the case of 'acag-' the same process occurs, giving first 'acagegket' and then 'aciigket', since 'age → ii' under velar dropping.

6.2 The endings introduced above are for the absolutive case. This means that they can function as subjects for intransitive verbs or objects for transitive verbs. The number of the possessed part of a noun with one of these endings must agree with the verb. Some examples:

Angyaa tak'uq.	'His boat is long.'
Angyaa tangrraat.	'They see his boat.'
Angyaat tangrraa.	'He sees their boat.'
Angyai tangrrait.	'They see his boats.'
Angyagket ang'uk.	'Their boats$_2$ are big.'
Angyak ang'uk.	'His boats$_2$ are big.' or 'The boats$_2$ are big.'

Drill: Translate:

a) Qayaa kiputaat. b) Pania cenirtaa. c) Qimugtii tuqutaa. d) Qetunraak assikaa. e) Aipaa tekituq. f) Aatii sugtuuq. g) Kipusvia ang'uq. h) Atkua tamaraa. i) Tepii assirtuq. j) Ungai tak'ut. k) Uinga alikaa. l) Maurluat mik'uq. m) Aaniit naulluuguq. n) Nutgit kiputai. o) Atra nallua. p) Irniara qiaguq. q) Kuingiit assirtut. r) Kuvyaa aturaa. s) Qimugtait ayagtut. t) Pistiik egauq. u) Paniak aptaa. v) Nayagaat cenirtuq. w) Alqaa assikaa.

a) He asks their grandmother. b) His older sister is eating. c) He uses their gun. d) She loses his boot. e) She sees his father. f) They eat the berries. g) Their uncle is his companion. h) She fears their dogs. i) She likes his parka. j) Her younger sibling is playing. k) Their grandfather arrives. l) He loses their fishtrap. m) Their grandfather understands. n) Their smell is nice. o) Their_2 house is small. p) They don't know their (other people's) uncles. q) They meet their (other people"s) grandfather. r) Their parkas are long. s) His father is their uncle. t) His older brother is her husband.

6.3 The postbase '-lleq' can be used with either noun bases or verb bases. It always has a past connotation. The combining form is '-llr-'.

With noun stems this postbase means 'the former N'.

Class	Sing.	with postbase '-lleq'		with postbase and possessed ending	
I	nuna	nunalleq	'the former village'	nunallra	'his former village'
II	ui	uilleq	'the former husband	uillra	'her former husband'
III	ena	nell'eq	'the former house'	nellrat	'their former house'
IV	pista	pistelleq	'the former servant'	pistellri	'his former servants'
V	qayaq	qayalleq	'the former kayak'	qayallrat	'their former kayak'

VI	kipusvik	kipusvilleq	'the former store'	kipusvillrit	'their former stores'
	kuik	kuilleq	'the former river'	kuillra	'its former river'
	ateq	atleq	'the former name'	atellra	'his former name'

In the case of 'atleq' we attach the dropping suffix '-llr-' to the C^{g}_{r}-ending base 'atr-' and the dropped 'r' is replaced by 'e' giving 'atellr-'. The unpossessed form of this will be 'atêlleq', and the hatted 'e' is dropped giving 'atlleq'. Now by fricative undoubling (see 2.10) this becomes 'atleq'. When the ending ':(ng)a' is added to 'atellr-' we get 'atellra' with no hatted 'e' to drop.

The result of expanding a verb stem by this postbase will be a word which denotes the thing which is in the absolutive for that verb. With an unpossessed ending the expanded word denotes the subject of the underlying verb taken intransitively: 'the one who V-ed'. With a possessed ending the expanded word denotes the object of the underlying verb taken transitively: 'the one that the grammatical possessor V-ed'.

Base	With unpossessed ending		With possessed ending	
pai-	pailleq	'the one who babysat'	paillra	'the one she babysat'
nere-	ner'lleq or nerrleq[1]	'the one who ate'	nerellra	'the one he ate'
tamar-	tamalleq	'the one which was lost'	tamallra	'the one he lost'
amar-	amalleq	'the one who backpacked'	amallra	'the one he backpacked'
tangrr-	tanglleq	'the one who saw'	tangellra	'the one he saw'

In Chapter 16 we shall encounter another use of this postbase and in Chapter 21 we shall see other postbases the meanings of which are linked to the absolutive thing (whether subject or object) of the underlying verbs.

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[1] See Chap. 2.8 and 2.10 for an explanation of why there are these two forms.

Drill: Translate:

a) the ones who stayed b) the one who was ill c) his former pipe

d) the one he liked e) the ones who danced f) their former house

6.4 '-llru-' (V) is a postbase indicating completed action or past tense.

Class	Base	Expanded base	With ending	
I	nallu-	nallullru-	Nallullruuq.	'He didn't know.'
II	pai-	paillru-	Paillrua.	'She babysat him.'
III	nere-	nerellru-	Nerellrua.	'He ate it.'
IV	elite-	elitellru-	Elitellrui.	'He learned them.'
VI	ayag-	ayallru-	Ayallruuq.	'He left.'
	tangrr-	tangellru-	Tangellruat.	'They saw it.'

Since expanded stems with this postbase are in Class I, the transitive marker will often not be used when a transitive ending is used (see 5.1). Thus 'tangellruak' can mean either 'he saw them$_2$', or 'they$_2$ saw him' (from 'tangellruaak' with the transitive marker being dropped).

In some areas (such as Hooper Bay - Chevak) when a transitive ending is used, the postbase '-llru-' is replaced with '-lqe-' which is a combination of '-llr-' and '-ke-'.[1] Thus 'nerelqaa' for 'he ate it' (lit: 'he has it as the thing he ate') instead of 'nerellrua'.

Drill: Translate:

a) Uinga tekitellruuq. b) Qimugtai tangellrui. c) Tallia paillrua. d) Qimugtellra tekitellruuq. e) Nerellra assillruuq. f) Amiiget ikirtellruit. g) Angutet tangellruit. h) Tangellra yaqulgullruuq.

a) Their children stayed home. b) It barked at the boys. c) He didn't know their$_2$ daughter. d) The little woman cried.

---

[1] The postbase '-llru-' with an intransitive ending can be analyzed as a combination of '-llr-' and ':(ng)u-', so that 'nerellruuq' is literally 'he is a one who ate'. The use of '-llru-' with transitive endings seems to be the result of '-llru-' becoming a single postbase in its own right.

Exercises:

A. Translate:

1. Nutget aturai. 2. Nutgit aturai. 3. Alqauguq. 4. Anngangqertuq. 5. Angalkuuguq. 6. Uyurai mik'ut. 7. Kemga egaa. 8. Apa'urluat aturtuq. 9. Maurluit mingqut. 10. Egatii patucuarangqertuq. 11. Kuingia tepengqertuq. 12. Qiaguq aipaa. 13. Tengssuutii kiputaat. 14. Neqait nerai. 15. Apa'urluqaat. 16. Apa'urluat assikaa. 17. Tallia tak'uq. 18. Angutecuar qengarpangqertuq. 19. Carayagpiit tuqutai. 20. Angiik nerpangqertuq. 21. Neqerpak neraat. 22. Kuigit tak'ut. 23. Angalkurtangqertuq nuniit. 24. Kuik kuvyartangqertuq. 25. Maurluit kiputut. 26. Muiraa egaterpii. 27. Tangrrai enri. 28. Apa'urluat angalkuullruuq. 29. Panicuaraak egallruuq. 30. Qayacuarallra mumigtellrua. 31. Kemga egallrua. 32. Carayiit pissullrui.

B. Translate:

1. It is a big mouth. 2. The bear has a big mouth. 3. His younger sister has a big parka. 4. The child has a grandfather. 5. Her children are ill. 6. It is a big store. 7. They are hunting the reindeer (pl.). 8. Their$_2$ son is going away. 9. She likes the boys. 10. Their husbands arrive. 11. They lose their (other people's) fish traps. 12. Their$_2$ daughter is nice. 13. He doesn't know their younger sisters. 14. She is sewing his parka. 15. He has a big pipe. 16. Their grandmother has a genuine parka. 17. There is a small fishtrap in the lake. 18. It is a gun. 19. His older sister gets married (acquires a husband). 20. She loses his pipe. 21. There are guns in the store. 22. His dog has food. 23. Their names are long. 24. Her big parka is lost. 25. The white man sewed. 26. His daughter stayed home. 27. She didn't know their names. 28. The ones they saw were big people. 29. The shaman was her husband. 30. They liked her former husband. 31. He dug the earth. 32. He took the boxes.

C. Translate:

1. Egatii aturaa. 2. Patucuaraa tamaraa. 3. Uinga pissurtuq. 4. Eniik kiputaat. 5. Neqii tepengqertuq. 6. Pistiit irnianguq. 7. Tallia keggaa. 8. Qimugtait mik'ut. 9. Angiik kipusvingqertuq. 10. Qantaak navgaa. 11. Yaassiigit teglegai. 12. Angalkuq alikaa. 13. Issratii tegua. 14. Alqait mingqut. 15. Ceńirtaat pania. 16. Maurluugket uitauk. (Why is there 'uu' in the first word?) 17. Angalkuq apa'urluqaat. 18. Carayiit tuqutait. 19. Qiiri tak'ut. 20. Nukalpiara pissurtuq. 21. Qantait muirai. 22. Qimugtii qilugaa. 23. Qimugtii qilugtuq. 24. Amiit inii. 25. Kuingiit tamarait. 26. Uiluit aturai. 27. Issralvii (issraterpii) teglegaa. 28. Angiit ciulvangqertuq (ciuterpangqertuq). 29. Taluyait aturakek. 30. Amiiga ikirtaa. 31. Atkuit mingqai. 32. Arnacuar aanakaa. 33. Uyurait aquigut. 34. Qetunraak ayagtuq.

D. Translate:

1. Aipaa nukalpiarullruuq. 2. Aanii mingqellruu 3. Qilullra angutngullruuq. 4. Patua paillrua. 5. Angalkuq aataka . 6. Qantallri navellrui. 7. Acii uingellruuq. 8. Pistellrat sugtullruuq. 9. Qimugtecuaraa tamallruuq. 10. Tumkek mikellruut. 11. Apa'urluat cenirtellrua. 12. Atkuit inillrui. 13. Pania tegullrua. 14. Qayarpait atullruit. 15. Kuigullruuq. 16. Nukalpiat ayallruut. 17. Egallra neqngullruuq. 18. Egallra asverullruuq. 19. Ungai takellruut. 20. Nerellra tuntuullruuq. 21. Paikaa. 22. Angalkurpak uikellrua. 23. Tuntut qilullruit. 24. Qetunraak assikellrua. 25. Yaassiiget mumigtellruit.

E. Translate:

1. His father was a shaman. 2. It was a lake. 3. He hung up the skin. 4. The reindeer had an odor. 5. He killed the big bear. 6. Her little companion died. 7. He stole their guns. 8. They bought the big airplane. 9. Their houses were big. 10. She was a little shaman. 11. Her small daughter was his companion. 12. She sewed their skins. 13. The one that was its bone was little. 14. Her children cried. 15. Her mother is a small woman. 16. The little woman is his

mother. 17. The women visited. 18. Their grandmothers$_2$ were small. 19. He ate the berries. 20. Her former husband was tall. 21. He opened the doors. 22. Their$_2$ children were tall. 23. He filled her cooking pots. 24. Their$_2$ uncles$_2$ had big houses. 25. It is its surface.

Chapter VII Relative Nouns

Vocabulary

agayulirta	'clergyman, priest, preacher'
aki	'other side, equivalent, value, money'
cali-	'to work'
ceńa	'shore, rim'
ciivak	'housefly'
ciu	'front, bow' ('civu-' [HBC])
ciuliaq	'ancestor'
cuka-	'to be fast'
igta	'den, lair'
ii	'eye'
ikamraq	'dogsled, sled' (often used in the dual for one single sled, because of the two runners)
ilu	'interior, inside'
imaq	'contents, bullet'
imarpik	'ocean, sea'
imir-	'to put contents into' (trans. only)
iqtu-	'to be wide'
iruq	'leg'
it'gaq	'foot'
kanaqlak	'muskrat' (also 'iligvak' and 'tevyuli')
kaviaq*	'red fox'
manigcete-°[1]	'to be smooth' (also 'manig-')
nanite-°	'to be short'
nasquq	'head'('qamiquq' [K])
nayiq*	'hair seal' (also 'is̮uriq' (spotted seal), actually a different species)
nepa^{e}	'sound'
neviarcaq	'young lady'

---

[1] "°" indicates a class IVc base. See Chap. 2.3.

nuyaq	'hair' (a single hair)
pamyuq	'tail'
qelta	'scale of a fish, bark of a tree, peeling'
tungu-	'to be black'
ukineq	'hole'
yungcarista/ yuungcarista	'doctor'

7.5	:(ng)ite-°	(N,V)	'to lack N or V'
7.6	+taite-°	(N)	'there is no N'
7.7	-nrite-°	(V)	'to not V'

7.1 We have seen the unpossessed singular, plural and dual, and the 3rd person possessor endings for nouns in the absolutive case. The absolutive case has two functions. It is used for the subject of intransitive verbs and the object of transitive verbs. In this chapter we take up the unpossessed singular, plural and dual relative case endings. The relative case also has two functions. It is used for the subject of transitive verbs, and for the possessor of another noun which has a 3rd person possessed ending. For example, in translating the following two sentences into Yup'ik, the word for "man" must be put into the relative case.

	sub.	trans. v.	obj.
(1)	The man	is eating	the fish.

	poss'r.	poss'd	
(2)	The man's	dog	is eating.

The chart to the right shows the unpossessed relative endings. Notice that the plural and dual endings are exactly the same for the relative and the absolutive cases.

RELATIVE CASE

sing.	plur.	dual
+m	+t	+k

Examples:

Class	Abs. sing.	Relative singular	Relative plural
I	nuna	nunam	nunat
II	ii	iim	iit
III	neqa	neqem	neqet
IV	qimugta	qimugtem	qimugtet
IV	angun	angutem	angutet
V	arnaq	arnam	arnat
	nukalpiaq	nukalpiam	nukalpiat
VI	acak	aciim	aciit
	tan'gurraq*	tan'gurraam	tan'gurraat
	kuik	kuigem	kuiget
	asveq	asverem or asevrem	asveret or asevret

Thus, the sentences on the preceding page will be translated:

(1) Angutem neraa neqa.

(2) Angutem qimugtii ner'uq.

A sentence may have two (or more) relative nouns, one the subject of a transitive verb and the other a possessor. For example:

Angutem tamaraa arnam uluara. 'The man loses the woman's knife.'

Drill: Give the relative singular forms for the following nouns:

a) imarpik b) acsaq c) egan d) igta e) kanaqlak f) yungcarista

g) ingriq h) uluaq i) necuar(aq) j) nutek

7.2 A noun in the relative case must agree in number with the marker for possessor of the noun it possesses, or with the subject marker of the transitive verb for which the noun is subject. The following examples illustrate this.

angutem qimugtii	'the man's dog'
angutem qimugtai	'the man's dogs'

angutet qimugtiit	'the men's dog'
angutet qimugtait	'the men's dogs'
angutek qimugtegkek	'the men$_2$'s dogs$_2$'

Angutem kiputaa angyaq.	'The man buys the boat.'
Angutem kiputai angyat.	'The man buys the boats.'
Angutet kiputaat angyaq.	'The men buy the boat.'
Angutet kiputait angyat.	'The men buy the boats.'
Angutek kiputakek angyat.	'The men$_2$ buy the boats.'
Angutet kiputagket angyak.	'The men buy the boats$_2$.'

Drill: Translate the following, telling which word is in the relative case and why:

a) Mikelnguut nuyait tak'ut. b) Ciiviim irui mik'ut. c) Arnak acsat ner'akek. d) Tan'gurraam ikamrak aturak. e) Asverem keggutek tak'uk. f) Arnat angutek aptagket. g) Pairtaa arnam uillra.

7.3 Some noun bases rarely occur without a possessed ending. These include bases such as 'qai', 'pai' and 'ilu'. We rarely talk about a 'surface', 'mouth' or 'interior' without it being the surface, mouth or interior of some particular thing. These bases are called positional bases and usually have possessed endings, and possessors in the relative case. For example:

Neqtangqertuq kuigem painga. 'There are fish at the mouth of the river.'
Enem ilua assirtuq. 'The inside of the house is nice.'
Yaassiigem qainga manigcetuq. 'The surface of the box is smooth.'

7.4 There are several sources of ambiguity connected with the use of the relative. Consider the following sentences:

rel.	poss'd abs.	trans.
Tan'gurraam	qimugtii	tuqutaa.

We might interpret this as:

poss'r. of → obj.
Tan'gurraam qimugtii tuqutaa.
She killed the boy's dog.

or as,

subj. obj.
Tan'gurraam qimugtii tuqutaa.
The boy killed her dog.

Another type of ambiguity is involved in:

Arnat angutet aptait.

This might be read as:

subj. obj.
Arnat angutet aptait.
The women asked the men.

or as,

obj. subj.
Arnat angutet aptait.
The men asked the women.

The ambiguities in the example sentences above can be resolved from the context in which the sentence is uttered or by rearranging the words in the sentence. Thus, if the first sentence were rearranged to read, 'Tan'gurraam tuqutaa qimugtii' most people would interpret it as, 'The boy killed her dog.' If it were rearranged to read, 'Tuqutaa tan'gurraam qimugtii', it would be read as 'She killed the boy's dog'. Similarly the second sentence could be rearranged to read 'Arnat aptait angutet', 'The women asked the men' or as 'Angutet aptait arnat', 'The men asked the women'.

Drill: Translate:

a) Angutet nayiq pissuraat. b) Angutem kiullrua mikelnguq. c) Neviarcam uluara tamartuq. d) Yaqulget acsat nerellruit. e) Tan'gurraam amiik ikirtaa. f) Arnam qantait imillrui. g) Yungcaristem panii aquillruut. h) Angalkum pania aipaqellrua. i) Agayulirtem aipaa tekitellruuq. j) Kass'am qetunrai naulluullruut. k) Mikelnguut ciutait mik'ut.

l) Tuntuk carayiit tangrrakek. m) Neviarcam apa'urlua tuqullruuq.

Translate:

a) The man's boat is big. b) The mouth of the river is wide. c) He lost the girl's parka. d) The dog is digging it. e) The bear's skin is black. f) The child's mother is ill. g) The shaman likes the doctor. h) The men bought his little airplane. i) The birds are eating the flies. j) The child's spoon is small. k) The men used the doctor's boat. l) The scales of the fish have a smell. m) The shaman's daughter got married. n) The people of the village danced. o) The young lady broke the cover of the pot. p) The doctor's son had a big airplane. q) The priest's house is small. r) The nukalpiaq's hair is long. s) The preacher's daughter had a son. t) They ate the fish heads. u) The shore of the ocean is long. v) The eye of the needle is small. w) They broke the bow of the boat. x) The bird saw the interior of the airplane. y) The surface of the earth was smooth. z) The wave fills their boat.

The following three postbases all express negation of some kind. The first two occur only with intransitive endings, but the third one can take both transitive and intransitive endings. Expanded bases containing one of these three postbases as their final suffix are in class IV since they end in 'te'. Furthermore, they are in class IVc (see 2.3). So far we have not seen any feature of the language that distinguishes class IVc bases from other class IV bases. But we shall see such features starting in the next chapter when we get to 'te'-affecting suffixes.

7.5 ':(ng)ite-°' (N,V) means 'to not have N or V'. It is used with noun bases and with certain verb bases which denote qualities which something or someone may or may not have. It is the negation of '-ngqerr-'.

Examples:

Class	Abs. sing.	Expanded base	With intransitive ending	
I	aki	akiite-	akiituq	'it is cheap, lacks value'
II	ui	uingite-	uingituq	'she doesn't have a husband'
III	nepa	nepaite-	nepaituq	'it's quiet, lacks sounds'
IV	qimugta	qimugtaite-	qimugtaituq	'he doesn't have dogs'
V	imaq	imaite-	imaituq	'it is empty, lacks contents'
VI	ungak	ungaite-	ungaituq	'he doesn't have whiskers'
	irniaq	irniarite-	irniarituq	'he doesn't have children'
	kemek	kemgite-	kemgituq	'he is thin, lacks flesh'
With verb bases.				
	assir-	assiite-	assiituq	'it is bad, lacks goodness'
	cuka-	cukaite-	cukaituq	'he is slow, lacks speed'

This postbase always precedes '-llru-' when both are used together. For example: 'assiitellruuq'-'it was bad'.

Drill: Translate: a) Ikamraituq. b) Acaituq. c) Angyaituq. d) Qimugtaitut. e) Nuyaitellruuq. f) Tan'gurraq qayaituq. g) Yuituq. h) Agayulirta kuingiituq. i) Paniak uingituq. j) Enaitut. k) Enritut.

7.6 '+taite-°' (N) means 'there is no N'. This postbase is the negation of '+tangqerr-' just as ':(ng)ite-°' is the negation of '-ngqerr-'.

Examples:

Netaituq.	'There are no houses.'
Yugtaituq.	'There is nobody.'
Mertaituq.	'There's no water.'

Drill: Translate: a) Kipusvigtaituq. b) Kuigtaituq. c) Nanvartaituq. d) Yugtaitellruuq. e) Pengurtaituq. f) Qasgirtaitellruuq nunallrat.

7.7 '-nrite-°' (V) is the postbase used for negation of most verbs: 'to not V'. This postbase is not used with bases expanded by '-ngqerr-' or '+tangqerr-' since the two postbases preceding are the negations of these. The postbase '-nrite-°' usually follows '-llru-' in a word.

Examples:

Class	Base	Expanded base	With ending	
I	nallu-	nallunrite-	nallunritaa	'He knows it (or her).'
II	pai-	painrite-	painrituq	'He's not staying behind.'
III	nere-	nerenrite-	nerenrituq	'He's not eating.'
IV	tekite-	tekitenrite-	tekitenrituq	'He's not arriving (now).'
VI	ayag-	ayanrite-	ayanrituq	'He's not going away.'
	pair-	painrite-	painritaa	'It's not licking it.'
	tangrr-	tangenrite- or tangenrrite-	tangenritaa or tangenrritaa	'He doesn't see it.'

(the base 'tangrr-' can take the variant '-nrrite-')

Examples with '-llru-':

Ayallrunrituq.	'He didn't leave.'
Tangellrunrituq.	'He didn't see.'
Carayaullrunrituq neviarcam tangellra.	'The thing that the young lady saw was not a bear.'

Drill: Translate: a) Arnat yurallrunritut. b) Tuqutenritaat. c) Angalkuunrituq. d) Neng'unrituq. e) Neng'enrituq. f) Nallunritait. g) Nayiullrunritut. h) Taqellrunritaa. i) Taringellrunritaat. j) Aipaqellrunritaa.

Exercises:

A. **Translate:**

1. house 2. big house 3. little house 4. It is a house. 5. It is not a house. 6. It was a house. 7. It was not a house. 8. It is a big house. 9. It is not a big house. 10. It was a big house. 11. It was not a big house. 12. It is a small house. 13. It is not a small house. 14. It was a small house. 15. It was not a small house. 16. He is her husband. 17. He is not her husband. 18. He was her husband. 19. He was not her husband. 20. She is their_2 little daughter. 21. She is not their_2 little daughter. 22. She was their_2 little daughter. 23. She was not their_2 little daughter. 24. It is his kayak. 25. It was his kayak. 26. It is not his kayak. 27. It was not his kayak. 28. It has a lid. 29. It doesn't have a lid. 30. It had a lid. 31. It didn't have a lid. 32. She has a husband. 33. She doesn't have a husband. 34. She had a husband. 35. She didn't have a husband. 36. She acquires a husband. 37. She acquired a husband. 38. She did not acquire a husband. 39. He has a servant. 40. He does not have a servant. 41. He had a servant. 42. He did not have a servant. 43. He is a nukalpiaq. 44. He is not a nukalpiaq. 45. He was a nukalpiaq. 46. He was not a nukalpiaq. 47. There were nukalpiaqs. 48. There were no nukalpiaqs. 49. He is eating. He is eating it. 50. He is not eating. He is not eating it. 51. He ate. He ate it. 52 He did not eat. He did not eat it. 53. The shaman was not her husband. 54. The big airplane did not land. 55) He uses the kayak. 56. He uses her kayak. 57. The man uses the kayak. 58. The man uses her kayak. 59. The man uses their kayak. 60. The woman did not drink it. 61. The women did not drink it. 62. It is good. It is bad. 63. It is fast. It is slow. 64. It was good. It was bad. 65. It was fast. It was slow. 66. He does not know. He knows. 67. He did not know. He knew. 68. He is ill. He is not ill. 69. He was ill. He was not ill. 70. The dog is nice. 71. His

dog is nice. 72. She likes the dog. 73. She likes his dog. 74. She likes their dog. 75. The young lady likes their dog. 76. Her husband is thin. 77. The child ate it. 78. The child ate the berry. 79. The woman's tote-bag was lost. 80. The young lady lost the woman's tote-bag. 81. The young ladies feared the big bear. 82. He ate it. 83. The one he ate was good. 84. He liked her. 85. The one he liked was a young lady. 86. He saw the big bear. 87. The one he saw was a big bear. 88. His grandfather died. 89. The boy's grandfather died. 90. The boys' grandfather died. 91. The men see the women. 92. The women see the men. 93. The dogs lick the bowls. 94. The birds ate the berries. 95. The doctor was her uncle. 96. The doctor was the young lady's uncle. 97. The shaman is not her uncle. 98. The shaman is the young lady's older brother. 99. The boys are not working. 100. She broke the cooking pot's cover.

B. Translate:

1. Arnam uinga pissullruuq. 2. Neviarcam uluara tamartuq. 3. Mikelnguum aptaa angun. 4. Angutem kiugaa mikelnguq. 5. Mikelnguum aptellrua angun. 6. Angutem kiullrua mikelnguq. 7. Arnat cenirtaat pania. 8. Yuut yuranritut. 9. Yuut yurallrunritut. 10. Nunam qainga acsangqertuq. 11. Yaqulgem ciivak neraa. 12. Yaqulget acsat nerellruit. 13. Mikelnguum uilua mik'uq. 14. Agayulirtem pania aturtuq. 15. Paillrunritaa. 16. Qimugtem qantaq paillrunritaa. 17. Tuntut pamyuit nanitut. 18. Neviarcam amiik ikirtaa. 19. Aipaa caliuq. 20. Mingqutem iinga mik'uq. 21. Taluyaa tamaraa. 22. Angutem ungai tunguut. 23. Qetunraak ayallruuq. 24. Arnam amaraa mikelnguq. 25. Arnam amallrua mikelnguq. 26. Kass'am elitellrunritaa. 27. Angalkuq tekitellrunrituq. 28. Arnam panii assirtut. 29. Angutem alqai nallui. 30. Angutem anngai nallunritai. 31. Yupiim taringellrua. 32. Tengssuutiit mit'ellrunrituq. 33. Tan'gurraat aquillruut. 34. Nukalpiat cenirtait neviarcat. 35. Yungcarista assinrituq. 36. Arnam qantaq muiraa. 37. Arnam qantat muillrui.

38. Aatii calinrituq. 39. Mikelnguut teglegait. 40. Mikelnguut teglellruit. 41. Mikelnguut teglellrunritait. 42. Ciukaa. 43. Ilukaa. 44. Kassauguq. 45. Kassaunrituq. 46. Nuyai takenritut. 47. Neviarcam tegua egatii. 48. Egatem ilua manigcetuq. 49. Kaviarem keggellrua kanaqliim pamyua. 50. Yungcaristem ikamrak aturak.

C. Translate the following sentences into Yup'ik and identify the case of each Yup'ik noun and the function it serves in the sentence. Also tell whether the verb is transitive or intransitive. For example:

1. The men saw the offspring of the walrus.	rel.	trans.	rel.	abs.
	Angutet	tangellruat	asverem	irniara.
	subj.	verb	poss'r.	obj.

2. They did not kill the offspring of the walrus. 3. Their$_2$ daughter was not tall. 4. The inside of the house is nice. 5. The grandfathers did not have beards. 6. The men met her sons. 7. The doctor asked the shaman's daughter. 8. He used the shaman's pipe. 9. The boy's dogs were big. 10. The young lady's tracks were wide. 11. The young lady has big feet. 12. People do not have tails. 13. She was not afraid of the shaman's dog. 14. The children like the doctor's daughter. 15. The grandfather's little boat was slow. 16. The bear's nose is big. 17. The bear had a big nose. 18. The children had little teeth. 19. He did not understand the white man. 20. The men did not hunt the big reindeer. 21. They didn't use her uluaq. 22. The shaman stole the doctor's boots. 23. Her mother did not sew. 24. Their older sister was not tall. 25. His boat was not long. 26. His boat was short. 27. Their older brothers did not hunt. 28. The young lady's father did not go away. 29. The servant cooked the seal. 30. The scales of the fish were small.

D. Translate:

1. Qetunraqellrunritaa. 2. Kipusvikellrunritaat. 3. Irniaqaa. 4. Irniaqellrua. 5. Irniaqenritaa. 6. Irniaqellrunritaa. 7. Qasgim qainga nunaullruuq. 8. Angyaq imaituq. 9. Panicuaraak aipaitellruuq. 10. Eniit

arnartaitellruuq. 11. Mikelngucuaraat naulluunritut. 12. Angalkut paniit assinritut. 13. Angutem carayak alikenritaa. 14. Angalkum tuntucuar tuqutellrunritaa. 15. Angutem angyaa cukallruuq. 16. Uluarem aipaa tamallrunritaa. 17. Maurluum qiiri nanitellruut. 18. Kuigat kuvyartaitellruuq. 19. Pistem kanaqlak tangellrua. 20. Kaviarem igtellra angellruuq. 21. Mingqutet iingit mik'ut. 22. Angalkum nuyai takellruut. 23. Apa'urluum ikamrallra nanitellruuq. 24. Neviarcam aatii angalkuullruuq. 25. Arnarpiim uinga mikellruuq. 26. Yungcaristem kamguuk teglellruak. 27. Arnarpiim qetunrallra sugtullruuq. 28. Kuingillrem tepii assiitellruuq. 29. Arnam pania atkugpangqellruuq. 30. Ingrim qainga carayagtaitellruuq. 31 . Nunam qainga acsartangqellruuq. 32. Imarpiim qainga manigcetuq. 33. Neviarcat nukalpiat-llu atullrunritut. 34. Qasgim amiiga ikirtellrunritaa tan'gurraam. 35. Nayiim qengaa nerellrunritaat. 36. Nunat arnait naulluullruut. 37. Yungcaristem arnat ceńirtellrui. 38. Mikelnguut alikellruat yungcarista. 39. Tengssuutem pamyua navellruuq. 40. Imarpiim qairi angellruut. 41. Kuigem atra nallunritaa. 42. Arnam imirai angutet qantait. 43. Arnam kuuvviara mellrunritaa. 44. Arnam kuuvviara assiituq. 45. Maurluum uinga keggutepingqellruuq. 46. Agayulirtem pania aquillruuq. 47. Yungcaristem enii assirtuq. 48. Kass'am qetunrai calillrunritut. 49. Neng'ullrunrituq. 50. Aatiit yungcaristeńgullrunrituq. 51. Neviarcam iik ayuqenrituk. 52. Apa'urluum qimugtai cukaitellruut. 53. Apa'urluat ayallrunrituq. 54. Nukalpiak pairtellruakek neviarcat. 55. Neviarcacuaraam aatii tekitellrunrituq. 56. Aatii naulluullruuq. 57. Nukalpiat angyaat atullrunritaa. 58. Yupiit nuyait tunguut. 59. Naulluulleq tuqullrunrituq. 60. Ingrirpak tangellrunritaa. 61. Nayiim amia inillrua. 62. Qimugtem qilullrunritaa kass'aq. 63. Elitellra assillruuq. 64. Neviarcat uyuraat aquinrituq. 65. Agayulirta nasqurpangqertuq.

Chapter VIII Possessed Relative Nouns with 3rd Person Endings

Vocabulary

akngirte- / aknirte-	'to hurt or injure' ('aqnirte-' [Hooper Bay - Chevak])
akwaugaq / akwauvaq	'yesterday'
aqume-	'to sit down'
atmak	'backpack, rucksack' (also 'kalngak')
eka e	'fire (large)'
eke-	'to get aboard, to put into a container'
ekua-	'to burn'
epu	'handle'
erneq	'day'
ernerpak	'today, all day' ('unuamek' K. for "today")
ila	'part, relative (kin), one of'
itr-	'to enter, come in'
kepe-	'to cut off, sever'
kingu	'rear, back part (inanimate)'
kis'un	'sinker' (also 'kic'aqutaq')
kit'e-	'to sink or fall into the water'
kumarte-	'to ignite'
kuve-	'to spill' (kuv'uq 'it spills'; kuvaa 'he spills it')
maligte-	'to follow, accompany'
maqaruaq	'rabbit, snowshoe hare'
maqi-	'to take a steam bath'
meluguaq	'cigarette' (Yukon)
nuliaq	'wife' (also nulirr-)
nunur-	'scold, reprimand'
pitegcaun	'arrow' (also 'qerruq')
qanemciq	'story, account' (also 'qalamciq' [K])

qanr-	'to speak' (also 'qalarte-' [K])
qanrute-	'to tell someone'
qanganaq*	'arctic ground squirrel'
qercua-	'to be frostbitten'
tekeq	'index finger'
tengmiaq	'bird, goose'
unuaqu	'tomorrow'
uqamaite-°	'to be heavy'
urluveq	'bow (shooting device)'
yaaliagni	'day before yesterday'
yaaliaku	'day after tomorrow'

8.3	+ciqe-/$@_5$ciiqe-	(V)	future action, 'will'
8.4	$@_2\widetilde{+}$ngaite-°	(V)	future negative, 'won't'
8.5	$@_2\widetilde{+}$vik	(V)	'place to V'

8.1 In the last chapter we saw the use of a noun in the relative case as the subject of a transitive verb:

Apa'urluum neraa kemek. 'The grandfather eats the meat.'

and as the possessor of another noun:

Apa'urluum qimugtii ner'uq. 'The grandfather's dog is eating.'

In order to say, 'His grandfather eats the meat' or 'His grandfather's dog is eating', we need a form for 'his grandfather' which is both relative and possessed. The chart to the right show these relative endings for a 3rd person possessor. Notice their similarity with the endings for a possessed absolutive noun. Using this new chart,

			sing.	plural	dual
unpossessed →			+m	+t	+k
			possessed		
possessor	3rd pers.	s.	:(ng)an	:(ng)in	+gken
		p.	:(ng)ata	:(ng)ita	+gketa
		d.	:(ng)agnek	-kenka	+gkenka

we can write the preceding underlined sentences as:

Apa'urluan neraa kemek. 'His grandfather eats the meat.'

and, Apa'urluan qimugtii ner'uq. 'His grandfather's dog is eating.'

Furthermore, in order to specify the "possessor" of the grandfather, the relative case is used again:

Angutem apa'urluan qimugtii ner'uq. 'The man's grandfather's dog is eating.'

Examples showing the formation of possessed relative nouns.

Class	Base	3s-s relative	3p-p relative	3d-s relative
I	nuna-	nuniin	nunaita	nuniignek
	patu-	patuan	patuita	patuagnek
II	ui-	uingan	uingita	uingagnek (rarely used!)
III	[e]ne-	eniin	enaita	eniignek
IV	qimugte-	qimugtiin	qimugtaita	qimugtiignek
V	angyar-	angyaan	angyaita	angyaagnek
VI	kipusvig-	kipusvian	kipusviita	kipusviagnek
	uluar*-	uluaran	uluarita	uluaragnek
	urluvr-	urluvran	urluvrita	urluvragnek

Drill: Translate:

a) egalviin epua b) nuniin yui c) uingan ungai d) eniin ilua
e) qimugtiin pamyua f) angyaan kingua g) maurluan qanemcia
h) kipusvian amiiga i) angiin meluguara j). uluaran aipaa k) kuigan
painga l) nutgan imai m) arnam egalviin epua n) arnam paniin
atkuit o) yungcaristem eniin ilua p) angutem kuingian tepii
q). angalkum qetunraan pitegcautii r) kass'am tengssuutiin ilua
s) qetunraagnek qayaa t) kuvyaata kis'utai u) ilagken angyaak
v) qayaan ciunga w) anngagketa pitegcautekek x) qimugtain pamyuit
y). paniita irniarit z) qimugtiignek pamyua

Translate:

a) Alqaan mingqai. b) Qetunraagnek aturaa. c) Qimugtiin pairaa. d) Acaita ceńirtaat. e) Qimugtain maligtaat mikelnguq. f) Mikelnguum aatiin tuntuq tuqutellrua. g) Angiin qimugtiin neqa nerellrunritaa. h) Tan'gurrakenka qimugtet assikait. i) Anngain qimugtait pamyuitut. j) Nukalpiat ikamrait imaitellruut. k) Neviarcam uingan iruk kemgituk. l) Egatiin aipaan epua navellruuq. m) Apa'urluata kuingian tepii assiituq.

8.2 The noun 'ila' has several important uses. It usually takes a possessed ending. It often means 'relative' such as cousin.

ilakaa 'he's a relative of hers'

ilai 'his relatives'

If it has a singular possessor it can mean 'part of' the possessor.

Angyam ilii navegtuq. 'Part of the boat broke.'

Angyam ilai navegtut. 'Some parts of the boat broke.'

If the word has a plural possessor it can mean 'some of', or 'one of'.

Yuut ilait yurartut. 'Some of the people are dancing.'

Yuut iliit yurartuq. 'One of the people is dancing.' (literally: 'Of the people, their one is dancing.')

also,

Qimugtain iliit tamartuq. 'One of his dogs got lost.'

Iliita kiullrua. 'One of them answered him.'

Drill: Translate:

a) tuntut iliit b) enem ilii c) qantat ilagket d) nukalpiam ilai e) nukalpiat iliit f) Ilain pissuraat. g) Arnat iliita irniara qiaguq. h) Nukalpiat iliita tuqutellrua carayagpak. i) Qantat iliit navegtuq. j) Yuut ilait tuqullruut. k) Enem ilii ekuallruuq.

8.3 Future action in Yup'ik is indicated by the postbase '+ciqe-/@$_5$ciiqe-'[1], 'subject will V'. The first form, '+ciqe-', is used with all bases except those that end in 'te'. On 'te' ending bases (class IV), the second form, '@$_5$ciiqe-' is used. This is a type 5 'te'-affecting suffix which simply drops the 'te' from the base before the suffix is added. (See Chap. 2.4.7).

Class	Base	With postbase and ending
I	cali-	Caliciquq. 'He will work.'
II	kiu-	Kiuciqaa. 'He will answer her.'
III	kuve-	Kuvciquq. 'It will spill.' (Adding the postbase and ending gives first "kuvêciquq"; the hatted 'e' is suppressed and in most areas the 'v' is devoiced giving "kuvciquq", but in some areas the 'v' stays voiced and the result is "kuv'ciquq" (see Chap. 2.8)
	irniange-	Irniangeciquq or Irniangciquq. 'She will get a child, have a baby.' (The 'e' in "irniangeciquq" may be optionally dropped even though it's not hatted (see Chap. 2.9))
	kegge-	Kegciquq. 'He will bite.'
IV	ceńirte-	Ceńirciiquq. 'He will visit.' ('te' dropped; '@$_5$ciiqe-' used)
	elite-	Eliciiquq. 'He will learn.'
VI	atur-	Aturciqaa. 'He will use it.'
	pair-	Pairciqaa. 'He will lick it.'
	qanr-	Qanerciquq. 'He will speak.'

Drill: Translate:

a) Paiciqaa. b) Pairciiqaa. c) Pairciqaa. d) Unuaqu aatiin kipuciiqai. e) Yaaliaku ilait tekiciiqut. f) Pania caliciquq. g) Maurluum mingqeciqaa. h) Qantarpak aturciqaat. i) Angutet arnat-llu maqiciqut. j) Apa'urluat aqumeciquq (aqumciquq). k) Agayulirtem nunurciqai irniarit kass'at. l) Pania iterciquq. m) Aaniin navegciqaa egatem epua. n) Tan'gurraam it'gak qercuaciquk.

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[1] Chevak speakers often have only the "+ciqe-" form, so that, for example, 'he will learn' will be rendered "eliteciquq", with 'te' retained.

Translate:

a) One of the elders will eat it. b) Her mother will scold him tomorrow. c) He will accompany her. d) The small dog will bite. e) Her sons$_2$ will work tomorrow. f) His boat will sink. g) Tomorrow he will acquire a wife. h) The big airplane will land the day after tomorrow. i) The shaman will be ill. j) Her son will be a shaman. k) She will be the doctor's wife. l) The woman will fill up the men's plates. m) She will light their cigarettes.

8.4 The negative postbase '-nrite-°' is not often used with '+ciqe-'. Instead of the expected combination of these two to express 'will not V', we use '@$_2\tilde{+}$ngaite-°'.

This is a type 2 'te' affecting suffix. With class IVa bases (those ending in 'te' preceded by a fricative) the 'te' is dropped and the fricative is devoiced. With class IVb bases (most bases ending in 'te' preceded by a vowel) the 't' changes to 's' and the 'e' is dropped. With class IVc bases (those where the 'te' is marked with '°') the 't' changes to 'l' and the 'e' is dropped. (See Chap. 2.3 and 2.4.7).

Class	Base	With postbase '@$_2\tilde{+}$ngaite-°' and an ending	
I	cali-	Calingaituq.	'He won't work.'
II	tai-	Taingaituq.	'He won't come.'
III	nere-	Nerngaituq.	'He won't eat.'
IVa	ceńirte-	Ceńirrngaituq.	'He won't visit.' ('r' doubled to show devoicing)
IVb	tekite-	Tekisngaituq.	'He won't arrive.'
IVb	apete-	Apesngaituq.	'He won't ask.' (Some people say 'Apngaituq' following the pattern of IVa)
IVc	uqamaite-°	Uqamailngaituq.	'It won't be heavy.'
VI	yurar-	Yurarngaituq.	'He won't dance.'
	pair-	Pairngaituq.	'It won't lick.'
	qanr-	Qanerngaituq.	'He won't speak.'
	tangrr-	Tangerrngaituq.	'He won't see.'

Drill: Translate:

a) Qimugtecuaraan keggngaitaa. b) Qayangqerrngaituq. c) Paingaitaa. d) Pairrngaitaa. e) Pairngaitaa. f) Tan'gurraam maurluan qanemcia assiilngaituq. g) Kipusngaitaa angyarpak. h) Mikelnguut apesngaitaat kass'aq. i) Qetunrai iterngaitut. j) Angalkuungaituq. k) Qayangengaituq. l) Qanrusngaitaa tegganeq. m) He will not arrive tomorrow. n) The men will not go. o) The airplane will not arrive the day after tomorrow.

8.5 '$@_2\tilde{+}$vik' (V) means 'place to V' or 'site of one's V-ing'.

Class	Stem	Example	
I	cali-	calivik	'place to work, workshop'
III	nere-	nervik	'eating place, restaurant, cafeteria'
	kuve-	Kuvevikaa.	'It spills on him.' (lit. 'It has him as a place for spilling.')
	eke-	ekvik	'place to get in (a boat); cliff or bank of river'
IVa	kumarte-	kumarrvik	'fireplace'
IVb	mit'e-	misvik	'landing strip, airfield'
VI	ayag-	Ayagviituq.	'He doesn't have any place to go.'

Drill: Translate:

a) Apa'urlua maqivigpangqertuq.

b) Kass'at uitaviat assirtuq.

c) Inivigtangqertuq.

d) The dance place has a small door.

e) Their house has a fireplace.

f) The children don't have a place to play.

Exercises:

A. Translate:

1. Her son's wife arrived yesterday. 2. His son is a doctor. 3. His son's boat is big. 4. His son bought the boat. 5. Their$_2$ son bought the kayak. 6. Their$_2$ daughter has a big nose. 7. Their$_2$ daughter's nose is wide. 8. Their$_2$ daughter stayed home with the children (babysat them). 9. Her husband is a shaman. 10. Her husband's older sister had a tote-bag. 11. Her husband lost the tote-bag. 12. The women scolded him. 13. Their grandfather has a wife. 14. Their grandfather's wife is a shaman. 15. Their grandfather is afraid of the shamans. 16. Their$_2$ sons$_2$ went yesterday. 17. Their$_2$ sons$_2$' airplane is lost. 18. Their$_2$ son did not lose it. 19. Their$_2$ children are playing. 20. Their$_2$ children's dog is big. 21. Their$_2$ children like the dog. 22. Their relatives will arrive tomorrow. 23. Their relatives' boats are big. 24. Their relatives are visiting the shaman. 25. His father's older sister's husband's kayak's bow was broken. 26. The boy will use the big sled.

B. Translate:

1. Yungcaristem panian teglellrunritaa. 2. Yaaliaku qetunraagnek ceńirciiqaa agayulirtem pania. 3. Uingan kanaqliim pamyua kepellrua. 4. Alqain irniarit naulluullruut. 5. Angyacuar aatiin aturngaitaa. 6. Yupiit kass'at taringengaitait. 7. Yuut ilaita eliciiqaat. 8. Yuut ilaita elisngaitaat. 9. Qimugtiin kanaqlak tuqusngaitaa. 10. Ilain iliita qanruciiqai. 11. Ilain ilaita ceńirciiqaat angalkuq. 12. Neviarcam kuuvviara kuvngaitaa. 13. Maurluan atkua mingeqngaitaa. 14. Agayulirtem qetunrain assikenritaat angalkuq. 15. Arnam alqaan issralvak kipuciiqaa. 16. Apa'urluata qantaa imaituq. 17. Akwaugaq mikelnguut aatiita pairtellrui arnat. 18. Alqaan irniarin alikellruat yungcaristem nuliara. 19. Panicuaraan ciutek qercuallruuk. 20. Angutem nuliaran acsat kuvellrui. 21. Nuliaran aatii angalkuullrunrituq. 22. Maurluan aipaqellrua angalkuq. 23. Qimugtiignek keggellrunritaa mikelnguq.

24. Aipaan angyacuar mumigtellrua. 25. Uingan paillrunritaa tegganeq.
26. Paniita aptellruat kass'aq. 27. Anngaan aipaa pistekaat. 28. Angalkum
panian aipaqellrua. 29. Qimugtaita qilugaat tuntuq. 30. Anngain kiputellruat
tengssuutecuar. 31. Alqagken uigkenka (uikenka) tuqutellruak carayagpak.
32. Uyuraata taringellrunritaa Yup'ik. 33. Aaniita nuyai tungullruut.
34. Arnarpiim irniara akngirtuq. 35. Aatiin nunurciqai. 36. Irniari
qiangaitut. 37. Qetunraa yungcaristenguciquq. 38. Aquivingqerciqut.
39. Kuigpak neqailngaituq. 40. Kuigpak neqaituq. 41. Cenirrngaitaat yungcarista. 42. Kumarrngaitaa. 43. Tekisngaitut unuaqu. 44. Kisngaituq.
45. Panian qanrusngaitai. 46. Agayulirtem pania aturngaituq. 47. Uikngaitaa.
48. Aqumvikciqaa. 49. Qimugtiita qilugngaitai mikelnguut.

C. Translate and analyze (tell whether trans. or intrans., what subject is, etc.).

1. His backpack is heavy. 2. The back of his father's boat is black.
3. His index fingers$_2$ will get frostbitten. 4. The squirrel followed the
rabbit. 5. His older brother's house is burning. 6. His younger sister saw
the fire. 7. The sinkers won't sink. 8. All day his uncle scolded the children.
9. The birds won't land. 10. The young man lost her grandfather's bow and arrows.
11. His wife will tell his grandmother's husband. 12. Some of the men lit it.
13. The children will not light it. 14. The squirrel won't dig the fox's den.
15. His uncle's companion cut off the dog's tail. 16. The man's dog won't bite
the fox's tail. 17. The woman's husband will fill the priest's bowl. 18. The
shaman's kayaks won't be slow. 19. The houseflies will land. 20. The surface
of the lake is smooth. 21. It won't be a real dog sled. 22. The doctor will
not have a large genuine boat. 23. The muskrat's little feet were not black.
24. He won't acquire a big store. 25. Her grandmother bought their fishnet.
26. Their$_2$ children are talking to her grandmother. 27. His dogs were afraid
of the bear. 28. Their boats' bows were wide. 29. He will take her woman's-

knife. 30. They won't take her woman's-knife. 31. Her companion asked their father's companion. 32. Her children don't know the priest's name. 33. The village won't have a small genuine community house. 34. Their village didn't have a large genuine community house. 35. The ones they saw were eating the seal. 36. The dogs they saw were eating the seal. 37. One of their children left. 38. His former wife won't meet his grandfather. 39. The woman's children are crying. 40. The fishes' bones will have an odor. 41. The door of their_2 house is big. 42. His children will have a place to play. 43. It will be a big restaurant. 44. It won't be a big landing strip. 45. He got in.

Chapter IX Possessed Absolutive Nouns with 1st, 2nd, and 3rd-Reflexive (#R) Person Endings

Vocabulary

ak'allaq	'an old thing' (ak'allau- 'to be old')
akutaq	'Eskimo "ice cream"' (a mixture of berries, shortening, seal oil, & sugar)
alngarcuun	'pencil, pen' (Yukon) (also 'alngarin')
amller-	'to be numerous, plentiful'
cavun	'oar'
equk	'wood, log, thing carried on shoulder' (also 'murak' for wood)
eritar-	'to pluck' (also 'meqtar-')
igarcuun	'pencil, pen' (Kuskokwim)
iinruq	'medicine, charm, amulet'
iquk	'the end'
kaig-	'to be hungry'
kalikaq	'paper, letter' (kalikat 'papers or a book')
kassuute-	'to marry, to join in order to form a circle'
kavlak	'bearberry'
keneq	'fire (small), match' (also 'spiickaaq' (Russ.) for match)
napartaq	'barrel [Yukon], mast, post' (also 'puckaq' (Russ.) for barrel)
nateq	'floor'
nengllir-	'to be cold (weather)'
neresta	'louse' (also 'ungilak', and 'kumak')
ngel'ar-	'laugh' (underlying stem '[e]nglar-') (also 'englar-', 'nel'ar-', and 'el'ar-'; and in Hooper Bay - Chevak, 'nenglar-')
nutaraq	'a new thing' (nutarau- 'to be new')
pere-	'to be bent' (intrans.)
perte-	'to bend something' (trans.)
piyua-	'to walk'

	qanir-		'to snow'
	qavar-		'to sleep'
	tenge-		'to fly away, to take off into the air'
	tune-		'to sell, trade or give something'
	unite-		'to leave someone or something behind'
	uqila-		'to be fleet-footed'
	utaqa-		'to await, wait for'
9.5	$\tilde{+}$lar- [Y] -lar- [K]	(V)	'to habitually V'
9.6	-li-	(N)	'to make N, to make N for someone'
9.7	-liur-	(N)	'to work on, play with or be occupied with N'
9.8	-lir-	(N)	'to have lots of N, to provide something with N'
9.9	-liqe-	(N)	'to be afflicted in one's N, to catch lots of N'

9.1 In chapter 6 we saw the 3rd person possessed endings for the absolutive case. These endings can be used for the subject of an intransitive verb as in:

Anngaa ceńirtuq. 'His older brother is visiting.'

and for the object of a transitive verb as in:

Ceńirtaa maurlua. 'He is visiting her grandmother.'

In this chapter we introduce possessed absolutive endings having 1st and 2nd person possessors. This is the type of ending needed to say, for example, 'My older brother is visiting', or 'She is visiting your grandmother.'

We also introduce here third person reflexive endings (abbreviated 3R) for the absolutive case. These 3R endings are the endings used to express, 'He visited his (own) grandmother', in contrast to 'He visited his (someone else's) grandmother', which is what an ordinary 3rd person ending expresses.

Absolutive Case

			s	p	d
unpossessed			0	∔t	∔k
POSSESSER	3rd	s	:(ng)a	:(ng)i	∔k
		p	:(ng)at	:(ng)it	∔gket
		d	:(ng)ak	-kek	∔gkek
	1st	s	-ka	∔nka	∔gka
		p	+put/vut[1]	-put	∔gput
		d	+puk/vuk[1]	-puk	∔gpuk
	2nd	s	∔n	-ten	∔gken
		p	+ci/si[1]	-ci	∔gci
		d	+tek/sek[1]	-tek	∔gtek
	3R	s	-ni	-ni	∔gni
		p	+teng/seng[1]	-teng	∔gteng
		d	+tek/sek[1]	-tek	∔gtek

Using the endings from the chart, the sentences mentioned previously can be written:

Anngaqa ceńirtuq.	'My older brother is visiting.' (1s-s ending '-ka', with 'k' appearing as 'q' because the stem 'anngar-' ends in 'r'.)
Ceńirtaa maurluun.	'She is visiting your$_1$ grandmother.' (2s-s ending '∔n', with 'u' doubling since 'maurlur*-' is a class VI stem.)
Ceńirtaa maurluni.	'He is visiting his (own) grandmother.' (3Rs-s ending '-ni'; compare this with 'Ceniŕtaa maurlua.' 'He is visiting his (another's) grandmother.')

You are already familiar with all the suffixation patterns which appear on this new chart: half-retaining, velar-dropping, adding, assimilating, and dropping. However, if it is necessary, review these patterns in Chapter 2.4.

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[1] Older speakers use the forms starting with fricatives, 'v' or 's' on vowel ending stems. This gives the contrasts: 'aanavut' "our mother" vs. 'aanaput' "our mothers", 'aatasi' "your$_{pl.}$ father" vs. 'aataci' "your$_{pl.}$ fathers". See also the Addendum on page. 320.

Drill: For each of the following nouns, write down the forms with the endings '-ka', '+nka', '+teng', '-teng' and translate these. For example, if the given noun is 'qayaq' your answer should be:

> qayaqa 'my kayak', qayanka 'my kayaks', qayarteng 'their own kayak', and qayateng 'their own kayaks'

a) ena b) panik c) uiluq d) apa'urluq e) ciuliaq f) ila g) necuar h) qimugta i) nuna j) nateq k) alngarcuun l) acak

Translate:

a) keggutenka b) ciutegka c) tumput d) irugken e) alqaput f) maurlurci g) irniaten h) qetunraci i) nutgen j) irniartek k) panigtek l) paniigtek m) alqerput (note: this is from 'alqarput' but 'qar' usually becomes 'qer' (see Chap. 2.11 Rule 9))

Several of the forms on the chart are exactly the same. We have seen this situation before in that absolutive and relative plural and dual forms are the same. Now, we see that the 3R-s and 3R-p endings for the absolutive are both '-ni'. Ambiguity rarely results here since the verb ending indicates whether the noun ending in '-ni' is singular or plural. For example:

Tunellrua angyani. 'He sold his (own) boat.' (3R-s '-ni')
Tunellrui angyani. 'He sold his (own) boats.' (3R-p '-ni')

9.3 A word with a 3R (third person reflexive) ending has the subject of the sentence as its possessor (or more properly, the subject of the main verb of the sentence, as we shall see when we get to the dependent verb moods in Chap. 22). For example:

Pairtaa qetunrani. 'He meets his own son.' (3R ending '-ni') versus, Pairtaa qetunraa. 'He meets his (another's) son.' (3s ending ':(ng)a')

It should be clear that a noun with a 3R ending can never stand alone as the subject of a verb. Just as in English, one does not generally say, 'His own son is eating ', so in Yup'ik one does not say the equivalent,*'Qetunrani ner'uq '. However, if the subject has two components joined by '=llu', it is permissible to use the 3R form for one of them:

Angun qetunrani-llu ner'uk. 'The man and his (own) son are eating.'

Compare this with:

Angun qetunraa-llu ner'uk. 'The man and his (another's) son are eating.'

The 3R absolutive endings having a dual subject, '+tek, -tek, and +gtek' are exactly the same as the 2nd person absolutive endings having a dual subject (refer to chart). Thus, 'Angutem arnam-llu pairtellruak qetunrartek.' can mean either, 'The man and the woman met their$_2$ (own) son.' or, 'The man and the woman met your$_2$ son'. The meaning in this case depends on context.

Drill: Translate:

a) Qimugteni assikaa. b) Nuyani kepellrua. c) Nuyani kepellrui.
d) Angyani assikenritaa. e) Alqarteng unitaat. f) Apa'urlurtek
pairtellruak. g) Irniani nunullrui. h) Arnam uini nunuraa.
i) Nukalpiam meluguani kumartaa. j) Neviarcam tek'ni kepellrua.
k) Apa'urluan qayani tamallrua. l) Angalkum qetunrani kiugai.
m) Enen angenrituq. n) Enen kiputellrua. o) Aataka tangellrun-
ritaa. p) enqa q) nek'a r) Qayarpuk nutarauguq. s) Qayarpuk
teglellruat. t) Paniigtek alikellrunritak. u) Qimugteni assikai.
v) Tan'gurraanka ayallruut. (Why are there two 'a's before 'nka'?)
w) Atqa nalluat. x) Aciigken pairtellruak. y) Atmiin
uqamaituq. z) Atmiinka uqamaitut. aa) enen bb) enren

Translate:

a) Your$_1$ father is hunting. b) Our grandmother is ill. c) Your$_2$ children are crying. d) Our$_2$ younger sibling is laughing. e) Your$_1$ children are walking. f) Their$_2$ son is fleet-footed. g) He likes our village. h) Our$_{pl.}$ uncle is sleeping. i) Your$_2$ dog is old. j) They asked our$_2$ servants. k) He saw your footprints. l) Your$_{pl.}$ relatives are nice. m) He saw our footprints. n) She lost your$_1$ cooking pot. o) Your$_1$ ears$_2$ are frostbitten. p) Some of you will leave. (since the grammatical subject is "some", the verb is 3rd person).

9.4 The nouns "ak'allaq" (old thing), and "nutaraq" (new thing) are often used in apposition to other nouns, serving a function similar to adjectives in English. They take the case and number of the other noun, but not (usually) a possessed ending. For example:

Angutem angyaa nutaraq ang'uq.	'The man's new boat is big.' (lit: 'the man's boat, the new one, is big.')

Other nouns which commonly are used in apposition include nouns formed with the postbases '-lleq' (Chap. 6.3), '-lek' (Chap. 14.6), and '-lria' (Chap. 23.4), and also demonstrative pronouns (Chap. 13 and 24), numerical words (Chap. 18) and certain other nouns. In all cases these nouns may be used independent of another noun as well as in apposition.

9.5 The postbase, '+̃lar-' [Y] / '-lar-' [K] (V) indicates regular or habitual action.

Class	Base	Yukon form	Kuskokwim form	
I	uita-	uitalartuq	uitalartuq	'he resides' ('usually stays')
II	pai-	pailaraa	pailaraa	'he usually babysits her'
III	nere-	nerlartuq	nerlartuq	'he usually eats'
	taqe-	taqlaraa	taq'laraa	'he usually finishes it'

IV	ceńirte-	Ceńirtellartuq.	Ceńirtelartuq.	'He usually visits.'
VI	nengllir-	Nengllirlartuq.	Nenglliilartuq.	'It's usually cold.'
	kaig-	Kaiglartuq.	Kailartuq.	'He's usually hungry.'
	qanr-	Qanerlartuq.	Qanlartuq.	'He usually talks.'

A note about Class IVa bases: 'ceńirte-' and the Yukon form '+̃lar-' give "ceńirtlartuq". The 'l' here is voiceless being next to 't'. When 'e' is inserted to break the three consonant cluster 'rtl', the 'l' stays voiceless. We show this by doubling the 'l' in 'ceńirtellartuq' (see 2.5). When the Kuskokwim form '-lar-' is added, the 'e' does not drop.

Drill: Give the forms with the above postbase (either version) for the following bases, add an ending, and translate.

a) maqi- b) pair- c) aqume- d) ngel'ar- e) ceńirte-

f) atur- g) ayuqe- h) tenge- i) qanir- j) utaqa- k) tekite-

9.6 '-li-' (N) means 'to make N' when used with an intransitive ending, and 'to make N for object' when used with a transitive ending.

Epuliuq.	'He's making a handle.' (from 'epu-')
Neliuq.	'He's building a house.' (from 'ene-')
Nel'illruat.	'They built her a house.'
Issrat'liuq.	'She's making a tote bag.' (from 'issran' (hatted 'e' is suppressed)
Angyalia.	'He's making a boat for her.' (from 'angyaq')

9.7 '-liur-' (N) means 'to be occupied with N'. When the subject is an adult, it usually means 'to be working on' something, but when the subject is a child, it means 'to be playing with' something.

Angyaliurtuq.	'He's working on a boat.'
Kuvyaliurtuq.	'He's working on a fishnet.'

Drill: Translate:

a) He's building a boat. b) She's working on a parka. c) He is making arrows. d) They$_2$ are making oars. e) He's working on a fish trap. f) They are building a store. g) Egateliurtuq. h) Nat'liurtuq. i) Pitegcauteliurtuq. j) Yungcaristem iiliuraa aatii. k) Pania nuyaliurtuq. l) Panicuaraa kuvyaliurtuq.

9.8 '-lir-' (N) means 'to have a plentiful supply of N' when used with an intransitive ending. When it is used with a transitive ending, it means 'to supply object with N' (though not in the sense of physically giving something to someone).

Acsaliraa akutaq.	'She supplies the akutaq with berries.'
Ciivalirtuq	'It has lots of flies.'
Egaten ukinelirtuq.	'Your cooking pot has a lot of holes.'

9.9 '-liqe-' (N) is used with two groups of noun bases. With bases for body parts it means 'to be afflicted in one's N'. With bases for game animals, etc., it means 'to catch a lot of N'.

Iiliquq.	'He has a sore eye.'
Iruliquq.	'He has a sore leg.'
Neq'liquq.	'He is catching a lot of fish.'
Maqarualiqellruuq.	'He caught a lot of rabbits.'

9.10 The four postbases, '-li-', '-liur-', '-lir-', and '-liqe-' are dropping postbases beginning with 'li'. When such postbases are attached to a base, if the 'li' is a part of a sequence of letters, 'Vli', it is usually permissible to drop the 'l' and the preceding vowel. Sometimes the resulting word is more common than the longer form, and sometimes the shortened form has taken on a special meaning of its own. This shortening occurs before hatted 'e' suppression.

Angyiuq.	'He is making a boat.' (from 'angyaliuq' by dropping 'al')
Kuuvviiguq.	'He is making coffee.' ('kuuvvii-' from 'kuuvviali-')

Issraciuq. 'She is making a tote bag.' (from 'issrateliuq' by dropping 'el' which gives 'issratiuq' and then 'ti' → 'ci' (see Chap. 2.11))

Eqiurtuq. 'He's chopping wood.' (from 'equliurtuq')

Eqiraa. 'He feeds it (a stove) wood.' (from 'equliraa')

Aciraa. 'He names him.' (from 'ateliraa' - 'he provides him with a name')

Imiraa. 'He puts something in it.' (from 'imaliraa' - 'he provides it with contents')

Keniraa. 'She cooks it.' (from 'keneliraa' - 'she supplies it with fire' 'kenir-' is the Kuskokwim stem for 'to cook')

Ciuciquq. 'He has an earache.' (from 'ciuteliquq')

Drill: Translate into English and give the longer form:

a) Uyaqiquq. b) Kuvyiut. c) Qanganiqellruuq. d) Taluyiurtut.

e) Cavuciciquq.

Translate into Yup'ik giving both long and short forms:

a) The children won't fiddle with the airplane. b) They will make a community men's house. c) He will work on her teeth. (work on teeth for her). d) It has a lot of lice.

Exercises:

A. **Translate:**

1. Atmaka uqamaituq. 2. Qantanka navellruut. 3. Negka ekuaguk. 4. Nutgegka nutarauguk. 5. Paniin irniangellruuq. 6. Alngarcuuteten amllertut. 7. Negken kiputellruak. 8. Tekregken nanituk. 9. Ciuliarput tangellrunritaa. 10. Nunaka assikaa. 11. Irniaqa qiaguq. 12. Nuyanka tak'ut. 13. Ciutegka qercuaguk. 14. Tekregka qercuaguk. 15. Qetunraan yungcaristenguciquq. 16. Nuyaten tunguut. 17. Ciutegken qercuallruuk. 18. Aanaput mik'uq. 19. Nutegput ak'allauguq. 20. Egateka aturaa. 21. Kuingian tepii assikenritaa. 22. Aciinka mingqellruut. 23. Pistegka calillrunrituk. 24. Nunan tuntuvagtangqertuq. 25. Atmiin uqamaituq. 26. Acaten arnacuaraugut. 27. Alqagken caliuk. 28. Aanaput qiingqertuq. 29. Ilaput tekiciiqut unuaqu. 30. Uika ikamraliuq. 31. Atqa nallunritaa. 32. Ungiinka kepellrui. 33. Anngagka uqilauk. 34. Egaten ukinelirtuq. 35. Irnian sugtuuq. 36. Angiin iruliquq. 37. Kuingigken tepengqertuk. 38. Nep'ut ak'allauguq. 39. Uiput pissurciqut unuaqu. 40. Nek'a tangellrunritaa. 41. Nutka atullrua. 42. Uyuraanka aquigut. 43. Talligka nanituk. 44. Uin alikaa. 45. Ciulian angalkuullruuq. 46. Irniaten piyuagut. 47. It'gagken iqtuuk. 48. Nep'ut amiilirtuq. 49. Ilaput pairtellrui. 50. Alqaqa uinguq. 51. Urluvqa (urluv'qa) tamallruq. 52. Irnianka-llu yurarngaitut. 53. Qetunraagka aturciquk. 54. Enen ekuallruuq. 55. Uluacuaraan assirtuq. 56. Uluarpiin assiituq. 57. Ciuliagken uqilallruuk. 58. Alqerput yurartuq. 59. Uiput tangellrunritai akwaugaq. 60. Nep'ut nutaraq assikaat. 61. Atkuka ak'allaq tepengqertuq. 62. Ilanka tekitellruut akwaugaq. 63. Yaassiigenka teglellruit. 64. Irugka tak'uk. 65. Alqan uingellruuq. 66. Natren ukinertaituq. 67. Nuteten kipuciiqait. 68. Kamguugken tegullrunritak. 69. Alqani alikaa. 70. Aciraa irniani. 71. Tumenka maligtellrui. 72. Navgait qantateng. 73. Kamguugka mingqellruak.

74. Nunurciqakek panitek. 75. Ilaten taiciqut unuaqu. 76. Nasqun mik'uq.
77. Uyuraagken qiallrunrituk. 78. Maurluput caliciquq. 79. Maurluqa
naulluuguq. 80. Mikelnguut alikelarait qimugtenka. 81. Qimugteci qilulartut.
82. Tamallrua uluacuarqa. 83. Arnam atkulia qetunrani. 84. Angutem navellrua
cavuteni. 85. Nukalpiat tamarngaitait nuteteng. 86. Tan'gurraam tamarciqai
nutput. 87. Igarcuuteka nanituq. 88. Panika ngel'artuq. 89. Qetunraan
ngel'alartuq. 90. Nunatek nenglliilartuq. 91. Qanirciquq unuaqu.
92. Nayagaqa kailartuq. 93. Iigka mik'uk. 94. Tumten ang'ut. 95. Nep'ut
tunngaitait. 96. Taluyaput ang'ut. 97. Taluyaput atullruit. 98. Kipusvigput
amiigpangqertuq. 99. Irniaput angyaliurtut. 100. Irniaput qilugai qimugtem.
101. Atput tak'ut. 102. Atput nallui. 103. Pisteput caliuq. 104. Pisteput
caliut. 105. Ilaci taingaitut. 106. Ilaci nallunritai. 107. Uici sugtuut.
108. Uici maligtellrui. 109. Nec'i assirtut. 110. Qimugteci kaigtuq.
111. Qimugteci qilunritut. 112. Anngarci tekitellruuq. 113. Anngaci
ayallrunritut. 114. Panici uingitut. 115. Ciuliarci qayapingqellruuq.
116. Ciuliaci nallullrunritait.

B. Translate:

1. The woman fills my bowl. 2. One of the people is buying your boat.
3. His grandmother sews her own parka. 4. The boy is using my spoon. 5. The
nukalpiaq leaves your older sister behind. 6. The man waits for his own
older sister. 7. The child takes my pipe. 8. The people see our community
house. 9. The man asks our grandfather. 10. The women saw your dogs.
11. The women saw your dog. 12. His grandfather doesn't know my name.
13. The woman scolds her own children. 14. The women go to meet their own
grandfather. 15. The young ladies like their own husbands. 16. The men use
your$_2$ kayak. 17. He knows the name of her grandfather's father. 18. Their
dog killed my servant. 19. The boy asked your$_2$ grandmother. 20. The woman

left her own husband behind. 21. Your children_2 arrived yesterday. 22. Yesterday the nukalpiaqs_2 didn't use their_2 own dogsled. 23. The children stole the shaman's charms_2. 24. The young lady fills your_2 tote bags_2. 25. Your_2 daughters_2 are sewing.

C. Translate:

1. Aataka pitegcautelillruuq akwaugaq. 2. Aanan atkuliciquq. 3. Angii kuvyalillrunrituq. 4. Angalkuq iinruliillruuq. 5. Egatelilallruut. 6. Irnianka kai(g)lartut. 7. Alqaan irniari angyaliurtut. 8. Angaka qimugtelirtuq. 9. Angyaqa imangelartuq. 10. Apa'urluqa ikamraliurtuq. 11. Maurlurput akutalillruuq. 12. Neviarcan nuyaliurtuq. 13. Aanam aciraa irniani. 14. Arnam keniraa tuntum kemga. 15. Qetunraan angyiuq. 16. Aatii eqiurtuq. 17. Apa'urluqa iriquq. 18. Angutem egan patuliraa. 19. Eqiraa. 20. Cavucillruuq akwaugaq. 21. Angutem nat'liraa nen'i. 22. Arnam acsiraa akutaq. 23. Mikelnguut aaniit kenirtuq. 24. Maurlurput kuvyilartuq. 25. Ilain ilaita ceńirtellaraat (ceńirtelaraat). 26. Tengmiat eritarlarait. 27. Nuyaten nerescirtut. 28. Qanganam aturngaitaa kaviam igtii. 29. Apa'urluqa urluvliuq pitegcauciuq-llu. 30. Anngaqa alqan-llu kassuuciiquk yaaliaku. 31. Nuyaten tak'ut tunguut-llu.

Chapter X Possessed Relative Nouns with 1st, 2nd, and 3rd-Reflexive (3R) Person Endings

Vocabulary

aiggaq	'hand' (Yukon) ('unan' [K])
akin	'pillow' (also 'putuskaq' (Russ.))
aqumga-	'to be sitting'
asemte-	'to break in two'
cella [Y] / ella [K]	'weather, outside, universe, awareness'
egaleq	'window'
ikgete-°	'to be few in number, small in amount'
iqa-	'to be dirty'
iqaq	'dirt'
kegginaq	'face'
maani[1]	'here'
maavet[1]	'to here'
maklak	'bearded seal' ('tungunquq' [Nelson Island])
mernur-	'to be tired, exhausted' (also 'taqsuqe-')
naniq	'lamp, light' (Yukon) ('kenurraq' [K])
puqig-	'to be intelligent'
quliraq	'story, legend, myth'
quliri-	'to tell a story' (intrans.)
qulirite-	'to tell a story to someone' (trans.)
quuyurni-	'to smile' (intrans.)
quuyurnite-	'to smile at someone' (trans.)
uani[1]	'at the mouth of the river or the exit'
uavet[1]	'towards the mouth of the river or the exit'

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[1] See 10.2 for an explanation of these words.

uci	'load, cargo'
uigtua-	'to sample or taste, attempt, try' (Yukon)('naspaa-' [K])
uqiggete-°	'to be light in weight'
uquq	'oil, seal oil'
uquri-	'to be fat'
yaani[1]	'yonder, over there'
yaaqsig-	'to be distant'
yaavet[1]	'towards over there'
10.3 -q̲atar- (V)	'to be about to V, to be going to V'
10.4 -q̲apigte- (V)	'to be very V'
10.5 -k̲saite-°	'to not have V-ed (yet)'

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[1] See 10.2 for an explanation of these words.

10.1 The chart below shows the relative endings with 1st, 2nd, and 3R possessor. The unpossessed relative endings and the relative endings with 3rd person possessor (Chap. 8) are repeated here for completeness.

Relative Case

			s	p	d
unpossessed			+m	+t	+k
POSSESSOR	3rd	s	:(ng)an	:(ng)in	+gken
		p	:(ng)ata	:(ng)ita	+gketa
		d	:(ng)agnek	-kenka	+gkenka
	1st	s	-ma		+gma
		p	-mta		+gemta
		d	-megnuk/-mnuk		+gmegnuk
	2nd	s	+pet/-vet		+gpet
		p	+peci/-vci		+gpeci
		d	+petek/-vtek		+gpetek
	3R	s	-mi		+gmi
		p	-meng[1]		+gmeng
		d	-mek[1]		+gmek

See also the Addendum on page 320.

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[1] These two endings, and other endings derived from them, may be treated as retaining type after the morpheme '-llr-'.

You will notice that for 1st, 2nd, and 3R possessor the endings are the same whether the thing possessed is singular or plural. Thus, 'angyama' can mean either 'of my boat' or 'of my boats'. Context usually determines which is meant.

The 2nd person possessor relative endings have two variants, one starting with 'p' and the other starting with 'v'. In general the 'p' variant is used with consonant ending bases, and the 'v' variant with vowel ending bases, or with consonant ending bases.

aanavet 'of your mother' (from base 'aana-')
nev'et 'of your house(s)' (from base '[e]ne-')
angyarpet _or_ angyavet 'of your boat(s)' (from base 'angyar-')
panigpet _or_ panivet 'of your daughter(s)' (from base 'panig-')

Drill: Write down the forms with the endings '+gma', '+pet/-vet', and '-mi' for the nouns given below and translate your results.

a) panik b) uiluq c) tan'gurraq d) issran e) ciuliaq f) akin
g) ii h) tuma i) egaleq j) aiggaq k) naniq

The function of the relative case was explained in Chapter 7. The following are sample sentences using relative case endings presented in this chapter.

Acama qimugtii qilugtuq. 'My aunt's dog is barking.'

Uyurarpet ungai tak'ut. 'Your$_1$ younger brother's whiskers are long.'

Nayagamta tegullrua aanamta uluara. 'Our younger sister took our mother's woman's-knife.'

Qimugtegken qilugakek irnianka. 'His dogs$_2$ are barking at my children.'

Atullrua qetunrami urluvra. 'He used his own son's bow.'

compare: Atullrua qetunraan urluvra. 'He used his (another's) son's bow.'

3R forms in the relative case can only be used as possessors. The other function of the relative, as subject of a transitive verb, does not occur with 3R relative forms.[1] This is because a 3R form cannot stand alone as the subject of a verb. Thus we cannot say, *'Qetunrami neraa akutaq.', hoping to mean, 'His own son ate the akutaq.'

(See also Chap. 9.3 - the same situation holds for 3R absolutive forms).

Drill: Translate:

a) Nemta qainga ukinengqertuq. b) Pistema quuyurnitaa.

c) Pistevet quuyurnitenritaa. d) Qimugtevci qilugaat panika.

e) Angyarpet ucia uqamaituq. f) Qetunrami pitegcautii asemtaa.

g) Uivci makliit pissurait. h) Paniigpetek neqcuaraat ner'akek.

i) Irniameng ilait unitellruit. j) Qetunrarpetek alikaa panigpuk.

k) Apa'urlumta kuingian tepii assi(r)lartuq. l) Panimegnuk tangrraa.

m) Paniigmegnuk tangrraak.

10.2 The words 'maani' and 'maavet' introduced in this chapter can both be translated by the English word 'here'. 'Maani' means 'at this place' and is used to specify the location of the action or state described by the verb of the sentence, while 'maavet' means 'to this place' and is used to specify the destination of the action described by the verb. For example:

Maani ner'uq. 'He is eating here.'

Maani net'angqertuq. 'There are houses here.'

but, Maavet taiguq. 'He is coming over here.'

Maavet ekellrua. 'He put it in here.'

The same distinction applies to the pairs 'uani' (at the mouth of the river, or the exit), 'uavet' (to the mouth of the river, or the exit), and 'yaani' (yonder), 'yaavet' (to yonder). These words are examples of demonstrative adverbs. They will be treated fully in Chapter 25. In the form in which they are presented here, these words already have case endings on them (as we shall see in Chap. 25) and therefore do not take further endings or postbases.

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[1] A 3R relative ending is not even used with a noun which is part of the compound subject of a transitive verb. Instead the 3R absolutive is used, as in the sentence, 'Angutem nuliani-llu atullruak angyaq.' (The man and his wife used the boat).

Drill: Translate:

a) Uani net'angqerrlallruuq (net'angqelallruuq [K]) . b) Yaqulek yaavet miciiquq. c) Maavet taingaituk. d) Maurlurput uani aqumgauq. e) Yaani aquiguk mikelnguuk. f) Uyurama qimugtii taiguq maavet. g) Uika tekiciiquq maavet unuaqu.

10.3 '-q̲atar-' (V) indicates action in the immediate future (compare '+ciqe-/@$_5$ciiqe-' which indicates action at some time in the future). The postbase '-q̲atar-' can be translated as 'to be about to V' or 'to be going to V'. This is an assimilating type suffix (Chap. 2.4.3). This means that the form will be '-qatar-' after bases that end in vowels or in 'r', and '-katar-' after bases that end in 'g'.

Class	Base	with postbase and ending	
I	cali-	Caliqatartuq.	'He's about to work.'
II	qia-	Qiaqatartuq.	'He's about to cry.'
III	nere-	Nerqatartuq.	'She's about to eat.'
	taqe-	Taqeqatartuq.	'He's about to finish.' (the 'e' is kept, even though it's hatted, to separate the 'q's; then the second 'q' is geminated (see Chap. 2.4 and 1.16))
IV	mit'e-	Mit'eqatartuq.	'It's about to land.'
VI	atur-	Atuqatartuq.	'He's about to sing.'
	ayag-	Ayakatartuq.	'He's about to leave.'

VII	pair-	Paiqataraa.	'It is about to lick it.'
	tangrr-	Tangerqataraa.	'He's about to see it.' (see 2.4.3 for explanation of why the 'r' is retained)
	mer-	Meq'atartuq.	'He's about to drink.' (the gemination is caused by the fact that the underlying stem is '[e]mr-'. (See 2.11 for details.))

Drill: Translate:

a) They are about to dance. b) It's about to be cold. c) It's about to snow. d) He's about to light it. e) He's about to ask her. f) He's about to take a steam bath. g) She's about to laugh. h) Kuuvviani kuvqataraa. i) Maavet tekiteqatartut. j) Naniq kumarteqataraa. k) His dog is about to bark at her. l) The shaman is about to go away. m) He is about to dig it.

10.4 '-q̲apigte-' (V) indicates a high degree, 'very'. This postbase is not used much with verbs describing actions. Notice that verbs expanded by this postbase are in Class IV because the postbase ends in 'te'.

Class	Base	with postbase and ending	
I	iqtu-	Iqtuqapigtuq.	'It is very wide.'
II	naulluu-	Naulluuqapigtuq.	'He is very sick.'
III	take-	Takqapigtuq.	'It is very long.' (hatted 'e' suppressed, see Chap. 2.8)
IV	nanite-	Naniteqapigtuq.	'It is very short.'
VI	nengllir-	Nenglliqapigtuq.	'It is very cold.'
	yaaqsig-	Yaaqsikapigtuq.	'It is very far.'
	kaig-	Kaikapigtellruuq.	'He was very hungry.'

A Kuskokwim variant of this postbase is '-q̲apiar(ar)-'. The '(ar)' is subject to deletion when the postbase is used in contexts where its final 'r' is preserved and is followed by another consonant (see Chap. 2.12). For example:

Kaikapiartuq. 'He's very hungry.' ('(ar)' deleted)

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Kaikapiarallruuq. 'He was very hungry.' ('(ar)' not deleted, since '-llru-' drops the final 'r' of '-qapiar(ar)-')

Drill: Translate:

a) It is very good. b) It is very bad. c) It is very cheap. d) They are very intelligent. e) The men are very tall. f) Our grandmother is very sick. g) My backpack is very heavy. h) He is very slow. i) Nepaiteqapigtuq. j) Mikqapigtut. k) Alqerput uquriqapigtuq. l) Anngarput kemgitqapigtuq. m) Yupiit puqikapigtut. n) Mernuqapigtuq.

10.5 '-ksaite-°' (V) indicates action not taken, or not yet taken. This assimilating suffix begins with '-k'. This means that the postbase will take the form '-ksaite-' with bases ending in a vowel or 'g', and take the form '-qsaite-' with bases ending in 'r'. Bases expanded by this postbase are in Class IVc.

Class	Base	with postbase	
I	cali-	Caliksaituq.	'He hasn't worked yet.'
II	kiu-	Kiuksaitaa.	'He hasn't answered yet.'
III	nere-	Nereksaitaa.	'He hasn't eaten yet.'
IV	cenirte-	Cenirteksaituq.	'He hasn't visited yet.'
VI	eritar-	Eritaqsaitaa.	'She hasn't plucked it yet.'
	ayag-	Ayaksaituq.	'He hasn't left.'
	imir-	Imiqsaitaa.	'He hasn't put anything in it yet.'
	mer-	Meqsaituq.	'He hasn't drunk yet.'

Drill: Translate:

a) Panigpuk atuqsaituq. b) Nerngeksaituq. c) Kaingeksaituq. d) Uingeksaituq. e) Issraciksaituq. f) They haven't learned it yet. g) They haven't seen it yet. h) He hasn't severed it yet. i) They

haven't started to dance. j) He hasn't finished it yet.

Exercises:

A. **Translate:**

1. Iima aipaa akngirtellrua 2. Panimegnuk irniari puqikapigtut. 3. Nayiim uqua assiqapigtuq. 4. Qayamegnuk ciunga navellruak. 5. Uciata tepii assiituq. 6. Anngama qimugtekait. 7. Alqama issratkaa. 8. Aanaka uquringuq. 9. Aatamta nekaa. 10. Anngagmegnuk qimugtekakek. 11. Nayagama uinga ellaituq. 12. Angalkum qimugtemi pamyua kepciqaa. 13. Angutet unitellruit nuliateng. 14. Uima nayagaa sugtuqapigtuq. 15. Qimugtevet ilait kaingut. 16. Alqama irniaqak. 17. Acama uinga yungcaristenguuq. 18. Maurlumta aipaqellrua angalkuq. 19. Nunalqa yugtaituq. 20. Aatavci kumarteksaitaa naniq. 21. Qetunrarpetek aipaan angalkum iinrua alikaa. 22. Angalkum assikai anngama nuliaran nuyai. 23. Yungcaristem kamguuk anngarpeci atullruak. 24. Alqamta irniarin tangellruat anngarpeci irniara. 25. Uyuramegnuk teglellrua qetunrarpetek kuingia. 26. Nuliama uyuraan kassuutellrua agayulirtem pania. 27. Anngamta pissurciqaa maqaruacuar tangellren akwaugaq. 28. Kass'am panian uigtuaqataraa akutaq. 29. Tunngaitaa angyani. 30. Acama uingan qimugtii kemgituq. 31. Asemtai igarcuuteteng. 32. Pistemta panian eritaqsaitaa yaqulek. 33. Agayulirtem panian atkua assiqapigtuq. 34. Angama kepellrua qimugtemi pamyua. 35. Nukalpiam aatiin kiputaa anngami kipusvia. 36. Tan'gurraat teguit aatameng nutgit. 37. Qayan nutarauguq. 38. Qayaan ciunga navellruat. 39. Qayarpet ciunga navellruat. 40. Atmagpeci imait uqamaiteqapigtut. 41. Aataka ernerpak nereksaituq. 42. Carayagpak tangelqa kaikapigtellruuq. 43. Uyurarpetek qayaa imangelartuq. 44. Panigpetek uinga qimugtaituq. 45. Paniigpetek uigkek qimugtengqertuk. 46. Tan'gurracuar aanani-llu yurartuk. 47. Apa'urlumta pistiin nerciqaa maklacuar. 48. Alqagketa navellruagkek uluaregemta epugkek. 49. Ilait mikelnguut ciuciulartut. 50. Alqamegnuk nunularai ilami irniarit.

51. Alqagmegnuk nunularakek ilamek irniarit. 52. Mernungeksaituq. 53. Ceńirtaa tangellmi alqaa.

B. Translate:

1. Your relatives' boats are big. 2. Your boat is full. 3. My mother cut off my gray hairs$_2$. 4. Your husband's partner is a white man. 5. My cooking pot's handle broke. 6. He broke the bow of his own kayak. 7. His bow's arrows are long. 8. His younger sisters did not see the big moose. 9. The shaman won't be ill. 10. Your children are very tired. 11. Your$_1$ fishnet's sinkers are heavy. 12. The children are smiling at their own priest. 13. My mother cut my younger sister's hair. 14. The weather will be good tomorrow. 15. The boy broke his own younger sister's pencil. 16. My husband's mother is very nice. 17. Some of his servants haven't yet begun to work. 18. Some of his servants are building her a house. 19. The big white man's little plane hasn't landed yet. 20. She won't visit her own mother. 21. The boy's companion stole the shaman's charm. 22. My husband will cut off his own dogs' tails the day after tomorrow. 23. Our grandfather's servants$_2$ are very ill. 24. Your grandmother's stories are usually short. 25. My uncle hasn't yet seen your older sister. 26. Your former husband was very fat. 27. There are few people here. 28. Your$_2$ daughter's face is dirty. 29. My older brothers$_2$' dogs are very fleet-footed. 30. Your$_2$ daughters$_2$' husbands usually sit near the exit. 31. The pillow is very good. 32. His hands are usually dirty. 33. Your$_2$ younger sister took the lamp. 34. The young lady likes the bearded seal's oil. 35. Your other eye is black. 36. The men of the village are about to leave. 37. The boy smiled at his own companion. 38. My older sister's hair is very long. 39. My dog's tail is very short. 40. My older brother and his wife have a small house. 41. Your dogs barked at the reindeer over there. 42. Your$_2$ children$_2$ know their$_2$ own doctor's name. 43. One of my boots was lost yesterday. 44. Your uncle broke

his pipe. 45. Some of my children are about to go over there. 46. Our$_2$ son's gun is light. 47. My uncle's companion won't visit the shaman. 48. Our grandfather's sled has no cargo. 49. Some of the people in our village have no food. 50. Her face is very nice. 51. Your$_2$ daughter likes our$_2$ son. 52. Your father's stories are usually good. 53. It is very far. 54. Some of my older brother's dogs are getting tired. 55. My older sister is going to taste the fish which you cooked. 56. Yesterday your uncle waited for his grandmother. 57. Our older brother won't leave his kayak here. 58. Our father will not kill the little rabbits. 59. Your mother's tote bag is empty. 60. Our$_2$ daughters$_2$ hurt them. 61. Our mother lit the lamp. 62. Some of our$_2$ dogs are about to eat the big fish. 63. My place isn't far. 64. Our older brother won't marry your older sister. 65. Our grandfather hasn't seen the white men. 66. The skin of the seal is dirty. 67. One of his legs is short. 68. My daughter will visit your grandmother's companion tomorrow. 69. The white man won't taste the Eskimo "ice cream". 70. My husband is scolding his younger sister's husband. 71. Our$_2$ kayak's load is light. 72. Tomorrow it will be very cold. 73. Our place has lots of berries. 74. The airplane has lots of cargo.

Chapter XI Intransitive Indicative Verbs

Vocabulary

age-	'to go over (but not to go across something)'
allragni	'last year'
anaana	'aunt (mother's sister), stepmother'
ane-	'to go out'
angayuqaq*	'chief, boss' (angayuqaak 'his or her parents$_2$')
ataku	'evening, this coming evening'
ataata	'uncle (father's brother), stepfather'
atata	'later on'
cakneq	'very much'
elicar-[1]	intrans: 'to study'; trans: 'to teach someone'(Yukon)
elicaraq[1]	'student (Y)
elicari-[1]	'to teach' (intrans.) (Y)
elicarista[1]	'teacher' (Y)
ii-i	'yes'
iqlu	'the wrong one'
iqlu-	'to lie, tell a falsehood'
kiak	'summer, last summer'
Kuigpagmiu	'person from the Yukon'
kuimar-	'to swim' (also 'kuime-')
Kusquqvagmiu	'person from the Kuskokwim'
Kusquqvak	'Kuskokwim River'
meq	'water' (base: '[e]mr-')
pinir-	'to be strong physically' (also 'kayu-' [Y])

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[1] The Kuskokwim version of these four words are, 'elitnaur-' (for 'elicar-'), 'elitnauraq' (for 'elicaraq'), 'elitnauri-' (for 'elicari-') and 'elitnaurista' (for 'elicarista'). All are from the base 'elite-' (to learn).

qang'a / qaang	'no'
tage-	'to go up from shore to land or up any gradual incline'
taûgaam	'however, but'
uksuaq	'fall, autumn, last fall'
uksuq	'winter, last winter'
up'nerkaq	'spring, last spring'
watua	'a (short) while ago, just now'
yuurte-	'to be born'
11.2 =qaa	indicates a 'yes/no' question
11.3 $\tilde{+}$yug- (V) +(r)yug- (N)	'to want to V, to want N'
11.4 $\tilde{+}$yuumir- (V)	'to desire to V'
11.5 $\tilde{+}$yuumiite-° (V)	'to not care to V'
11.6 $\tilde{+}$yuuma- (V)	'to be able to V' [Y]; 'to be ready to V' [K]
11.7 $\tilde{+}$yugnga- (V)	'to be able to V' [K]
11.8 $\tilde{+}$yugnarqe- (V)	indicates probable V-ing from point of view of speaker

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11.1 In Chapter 4 we saw the intransitive verb endings for a 3rd person subject ('he', 'she', 'it', 'they'). The table below presents the intransitive verb endings for a subject in the 1st persons ('I', 'we'), in the 2nd person ('you'), and, for the sake of completeness, in the 3rd person again.

All these endings use '(g)' after a Class II base, and '(t)' after a consonant ending base.

Notice that the final part of the 1st person singular ending is ':nga'. This means that the 'ng' will drop out when it occurs between two single vowels, and this means in all

INDICATIVE INTRANSITIVE ENDINGS

3rd	s	+'$\genfrac{}{}{0pt}{}{(g)}{(t)}$u	q
	p		t
	d		k
1st	s		:nga
	p		kut
	d		kuk
2nd	s		ten
	p		ci
	d		tek

cases except when the ending is used on a Class I base. For example, 'yurar-' and '+'$^{(g)}_{(t)}$u' and ':nga' give 'yurartunga' which becomes 'yurartua' (I am dancing) by velar dropping, but 'cali-' and '+'$^{(g)}_{(t)}$u' and ':nga' give 'caliunga' (I am working). Here the 'ng' must be retained because it is preceded by two vowels.

Examples:

Class	Base	1s		2p	
I	nallu-	Nalluunga.	'I don't know.	Nalluuci.	'You$_{pl.}$ don't know.'
II	naulluu-	Naulluugua.	'I am sick.'	Naulluuguci.	'You$_{pl.}$ are sick.'
III	nere-	Nerua.	'I am eating.'	Ner'uci.	'You$_{pl.}$ are eating.'
IV	elite-	Elitua.	'I am learning.	Elituci.	'You$_{pl.}$ are learning.'
VI	kuimar-	Kuimartua.	'I am swimming.'	Kuimartuci.	'You$_{pl.}$ are swimming.'

Sample sentences:

Maani yura(r)lartukut. 'We usually dance here.'

Kainritua. 'I'm not hungry.'

Kaingeksaitua. 'I haven't become hungry yet.'

Caliciqukuk unuaqu. 'We$_2$ shall work tomorrow.'

Sugtuuten. 'You are tall.'

Nerellruunga. 'I ate.'

Drill: Translate the following into English:

a) Uitalartukut maani. b) Kassauguten. c) Elitellrunrituci. d) Yurarciqutek unuaqu. e) Akwaugaq kaikapigtellrunritukuk. f) Pissuqsaitua kiagpak. (kiagpak 'all summer'). g) Yaaliagni tekitellruunga. h) Uingqertua. i) Necuarangqertukut. j) Uingitua. k) Taluyarpangqertuten. l) Kuimaqatartua. m) Arnarpaugua. n) Qimugtengellruunga. o) Angyaitua. p) Qayangukuk. q) Qimugtaitutek. r) Iqlullruunga. s) Yaaliagni naulluuqapigtellruunga. t) Mernurtua.

Translate the following into Yup'ik:

a) I am an Eskimo. b) You are a white man. c) We_2 are starting to understand. d) I have no books. e) We haven't slept today. f) We're getting tired. g) I was sick the day before yesterday. h) I'm very hungry. i) You are a priest. j) I am a shaman. k) $You_{pl.}$ haven't started to work. l) We are fleet-footed. m) I'm skinny. n) Last year we_2 built a house. o) I will make akutaq the day after tomorrow. p) We are not getting hungry. q) I hurt myself yesterday. r) You_2 don't have a kayak. s) You have lots of boots. t) We have an older sister. u) You're lying. v) I'm lying. w) I made a sled. x) I quit.

11.2 '=qaa' is an enclitic (Chap. 2.1) which indicates that the sentence is a question of the kind that requires "yes" or "no" for an answer. This enclitic is attached to the first word of the sentence. The verb in this type of question sentence is an ordinary indicative verb.

Kaigtuten-qaa?[1] 'Are you hungry?'

Tauna-qaa anngaqaa? 'Is that his older brother?'

The two examples above are the type of question that require "yes" or "no" for an answer[2]. Questions of the type that require more than "yes" or "no" for an answer, that is questions that ask "who", "what", "why", "when", "where", "which", "how", etc., require a verb in the interrogative mood rather than the indicative mood. The endings for the interrogative mood will be presented in Chapters 13 and 14.

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[1] It is also common, especially with one word sentences, to omit the '=qaa' and use rising intonation instead to indicate that a question is being asked.

[2] If a negative question is asked, such as 'Kainrituten-qaa?' (Aren't you hungry?) the proper Yup'ik answer is 'ii-i' (yes) if you are not hungry (that is, if you agree with 'kainrituten') and 'qaang' (no) if you are hungry (that is, if you disagree with 'kainrituten'). This is different from the English pattern.

Drill: Translate the following questions.

a) Are you hungry? b) Haven't you gotten married yet? c) Are you tired? d) Did you work yesterday? e) Are you$_{pl.}$ hungry? f) Do you have dogs? g) Do you have a wife? h) Are you about to leave? i) Do you have a husband? j) Do you$_2$ have a place to work? k) Are you a teacher? l) Does he have a pencil?

11.3 '+̃yug-' (V) means 'to want to V'. This postbase drops the final 'e's from stems. When 'y' follows a stop or voiceless fricative as a result of this postbase, 'y' changes to 's'. When 'y' follows 't' as a result of this postbase, 'ty' changes to 'c'. (See Chap. 2.7).

Class	Base	with postbase and an ending	
I	cali-	Caliyugtuq.	'He wants to work.'
II	pai-	Paiyugaa.	'She wants to babysit him.'
III	nere-	Neryugtuq.	'He wants to eat.'
	taqe-	Taqsugtuq.	'He wants to quit.' ('qy' → 'qs')
	kegge-	Keggsugtuq.	'He wants to bite.' ('ggy' → 'ggs')
IV	elite-	Elicugtuq.	'He wants to learn.' ('ty' → 'c')
	cenirte-	Ceńircugaa.	'He wants to visit her.' ('ty' → 'c')
VI	ayag-	Ayagyugtuq.	'He wants to leave'
	pair-	Pairyugaa.	'It wants to lick it.'
	qanr-	Qaneryugtuq.	'He wants to speak.'
	tangrr-	Tangerrsugaa.	'He wants to see it.' ('rry' → 'rrs')

This postbase also may be used with noun stems meaning "to want to do the action appropriate to N". The version used with noun bases is '+(r)yug-'. This noun version uses '(r)' after 'te' ending stems, and is not an eliding type.

Class	Base	with postbase and ending	
I	aki-	Akiyugtuq.	'He wants money.'

III	neqe-	neqêyugtuq ⟶	neqyugtuq 'he wants fish' (the rule that would change 'y' following a stop to 's' can only be invoked before suppression of hatted 'e'. In this case it doesn't change the 'y' since 'e' separates 'y' from 'q'. After the hatted 'e' is suppressed, the rule can no longer be invoked. Hence 'y' doesn't change. (See Chap. 2.7 and 2.8))
IV	qimugte-	qimugteryugtuq	'he wants dogs'
VI	atkug-	atkugyugtuq	'he wants (to put on) a parka'

Drill: Translate the following:

a) Maqiyugtuci-qaa? b) Unuaqu-qaa pissuryugtutek? c) Kuuvviaryugtuten-qaa? d) Akwaugaq mikelnguut aquiyullrunritut. e) Maurlumta atkuka mingeqsugaa. f) Qavaryugtua. g) Neryugtuten-qaa? h) Uivet-qaa paircullrunritaa aanan? i) Tengssuuteryugtuq-qaa? j) Carayagpak nutegyugaa. k) Meryugtua. l) Meqsugtua. ('meqsug-' is a stem derived from 'mer-' and has the meaning 'to be (involuntarily) thirsty' rather than 'to want to drink'). m) He wants to cry. n) I want to sit down. o) We want to dance. p) My grandmother wants a tote bag. q) They want to learn. r) They want to buy it. s) My son wants a dog. t) She wants to stay home with the children. u) Your dog wants to lick my bowl. v) My uncle wants to buy your boat. w) My husband wants to see your husband. x) I want a kayak. y) His father wants to open the door. z) Do you want a parka? aa) Do you$_2$ want to eat? bb) He wants to cut it off. cc) I want fermented fish heads.

11.4 '+̃yuumir-'[1] (V) means 'to desire to V, or yearn to V'.

Yuraryuumirtua.	'I yearn to Eskimo dance.'
Pissuryuumirai.	'He desires to hunt them.'

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[1] These two postbases are derived from the postbase '+yug-' and consequently also have versions used with nouns, '+(r)yuumir-' and '+(r)yuumiite-°'. For example, 'Tepyuumirtua.' (I yearn for fermented fish heads.).

Drill: Translate: a) He yearns to sleep. b) They wish to go. c) I yearn to work. d) We$_2$ wish to eat. e) Mikelnguq naulluulleq aquiyuumirtuq. f) Nukalpiat pissuryuumirtut. g) Pistemegnuk qetunracuaraa qimugtengqerrsuumirtuq. h) Kass'am kipucuumiraa qimugteka. i) Tan'gurraq nutegyuumirtuq.

11.5 '+yuumiite-°'[1] (V) indicates lack of desire to V, and can be translated as 'to not care to V'. This is a combination of the preceding postbase and the postbase ':(ng)ite-°'.

Neryuumiituq. 'He doesn't care to eat.'

Compare,

Neryunrituq. 'He doesn't want to eat.'

Drill: Translate: a) He does not care to come in. b) I have no desire to swim. c) Don't you$_2$ care to work? d) They$_2$ have no desire to kill it. e) Yuraryuumiituq. f) Ceńircuumiitua. g) Qanrucuumiitaat.

11.6 '+yuuma-' (V) means 'to be able to V' for Yukon speakers, and 'to be ready to V' for Kuskokwim speakers.

Kuimaryuumaunga. 'I can swim' (Yukon), or 'I am ready to swim' (Kusk.).

Drill: Translate the following, keeping in mind the difference in meaning of this postbase for Yukon and Kuskokwim speakers.

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[1] Refer to footnote on previous page.

a) They are able to see. [Y] b) We$_2$ are able to understand. [Y]. c) He is ready to hunt. [K] d) He is able to use them. [Y] e) She is ready to dance. [K] f) He is able to hunt. [Y] g) Tengyuumallruuq. h) Qavaryuumauq.

11.7 '~+yugnga-' (V) This postbase is used mostly in the Kuskokwim and Bristol Bay areas where it means 'to be able to V'.

Yuraryugngaunga. 'I can Eskimo dance.'

Drill: Translate: a) Tengyugngallruuq. b) Pisteka caliyugngauq. c) Kuimaryugngauten-qaa? d) Issraciyugngautek-qaa? e) Alqan aturyugngauq. f) The little dogs can bite. g) She is able to babysit my children. h) My daughter is able to sew. i) The children are able to open the door of the community house. [illegible] The men can go. k) Our airplane can fly.

11.8 '~+yugnarqe-' (V) means to probably be V-ing' from the point of view of the speaker. It is often translated as 'I think the subject is V-ing.' This post-base is usually the last postbase of the verb, occurring just before the ending.

Kaigyugnarquq. 'He's probably hungry' or 'I think he's hungry.'
Angyarpaliyugngayugnarquq. 'He can probably make a large boat.'
Unuaqu ayagciqsugnarqut. 'They probably will leave tomorrow.'

Drill: Translate: a) He's probably babysitting them. b) It is probably good. c) It must be a boat. d) He must have seen her yesterday. e) Angutet pissuryugnarqut. f) Kaikapigtellrunricugnarquq. g) Kass'aq atkungyugnarquq. h) Ayagyuumiicugnarquq. i) Arnaq elitnauristeńguyugnarquq. j) Qetunrartek yungcaristeńguciqsugnarquq. k) Eliciiqsugnarqaa.

Exercises:

A. Translate:

1. Qimugtema atra assikellrunricugnarqaa. 2. Tagyullruukut. 3. Aatii naulluuyugnarquq. 4. Qetunrarpetek kumarcullrunritaa kuingiqa. 5. Neviarcam angiin pissuryuumiitellrui kanaqliit. 6. Qayarpangqerrsugtua. 7. Kipusviliurteńguyugtuten-qaa? 8. Iqluuten. 9. Allragni-qaa paniin yuurtellruuq? 10. Ii-i, panika yuurtellruuq allragni. 11. Nunii yaaqsinricugnarquq. 12. Maani carayagtangqerrsugnarquq. 13. Yuraryugtua. Yuraryuumiitua. Yuraryuumaunga. Yuraryugngaunga. 14. Neryugyugnarquq. 15. Taqsugtuq. Taqsugnarqut. 16. Ikircugaa. 17. Amaryugnarqaa panicuarqa. Amaryuumiitaa panigpaka. 18. Ceńircugaa maurluqa. 19. Nerciqsugnarquq. Neryugyugnarquq. Nerellruyugnarquq. Neryuumiryugnarquq. 20. Yaaqsikapigcugnarquq. 21. Angagpet tegullruyugnarqaa issratka. 22. Assiksuumiitaa angalkum pania. 23. Yugpak piniryugnarquq. 24. Yucuar pininricugnarquq. 25. Taringenricugnarqaa nuliami aanii. 26. Ayagyuumiicugnarquq. 27. Qimugtiignek nerciqsugnarqaa neqa. 28. Panika mingeqsugngauq. 29. Yup'icuaraat ayagyuumiitut. 30. Irnianka paiyugnarqai. 31. Maurlurci anyuumiituq. 32. Apa'urluqa kipusviliyugtuq. 33. Aanama taqciqsugnarqaa atkuka unuaqu. 34. Pistet calingeksaicugnarqut. 35. Apa'urlurpeci pissuryuumillrui tuntut. 36. Pamyuni keggsugaa. 37. Pamyuit naniteqapigtut. 38. Iinrungqerrsuumirtutek-qaa? 39. Iqluunga. 40. Naulluugua. 41. Kuuvviaq meryuumiitaa. 42. Yuurciiqsugnarquq yaaliaku. 43. Elicartuci-qaa? 44. Yaqulecuaraat tengyuumaut. 45. Kuimaryugngauten-qaa? 46. Angalkum iinrui alikellruyugnarqait. 47. Yuraryuumauci-qaa? 48. Ceńircugtukuk. 49. Irniani amaryuumiitaa. 50. Angagpetek kipusvia mikqapigcugnarquq. 51. Kassaugua. 52. Yupiuguten-qaa? 53. Piniqapigtuten. 54. Maurluun angalkuuyugtuq. 55. Caliyuumirtuci-qaa? 56. Kainritua. 57. Kaingeksaitua. 58. Tengssuuteryugtukut. 59. Tepyuumirtua. 60. Angyalingaicugnarqua.

B. Translate:

1. Didn't your father want to hunt? 2. The bird you saw is able to fly but doesn't care to. 3. My mother told him. 4. The teacher wanted to ask the students. 5. My parents have a store. 6. The shaman's daughter wants to use her parent's boat. 7. He will be able to eat tomorrow. 8. He probably won't care for fermented fish. 9. He is a Kuskokwimer. 10. Are you a Yukoner? 11. He does not care to visit my grandmother. 12. The nukalpiaq wanted to use my uncle's big boat. 13. Our grandmother wanted to backpack your$_2$ little son. 14. He must be staying at home. 15. We probably won't sleep. 16. He knows the name of the berry. 17. The children are able to open the boxes. 18. My grandmother wants to have a parka. 19. She did not wish to see your older brother yesterday. 20. I'm tired. 21. Do you want to sleep? 22. Are you$_{pl.}$ tired? 23. Do you want to hunt? 24. My older sister wants to be thin. 25. Your father did not want to use his own boat. 26. The man wanted to leave his own fish trap behind. 27. My husband will probably want to stay home with my grandfather. 28. My grandfather doesn't care to tell him. 29. Do you$_2$ want to make a sled? 30. My younger sister wants a big dog.

C. Translate:

1. Kuuvviaryugtua. 2. Yungcaristem enii nutarauyugnarquq. 3. Angalkum panian uiksugaa yungcarista. 4. Kuigpagmium angutem tekitellrua Kusquqvak. 5. Qetunraa. 6. Ataku kuimaryugciqut mikelnguut. 7. Qimugtecuararpet keggsugaa pamyuni. 8. Yupiugukut. 9. Angutem unicugaa nuliani. 10. Puqikapigtuten. 11. Alqaqa caliyullrunrituq akwaugaq. 12. Nunaka kass'at teguyugaat. 13. Aatama nen'i tunyugaa. 14. Apa'urlumta nuliani quliricugaa. 15. Up'nerkaullruyugnarquq. 16. Nukalpiaq naulluulleq meryullruuq. 17. Elitnaurat maavet taillrunricugnarqut allragni.

Chapter XII Transitive Indicative Verbs

Vocabulary

alngar-	'to write' (Yukon)
allaneq	'stranger, visitor'
cingar-	'to kiss'
cupegte-	'to be homesick'
igar-	'to write' (Kusk.) (igaraa 'he writes to her')
ige-	'to swallow'
igte-	'to fall down from an elevation'
ikayur-	'to help'
ikusek	'elbow' (Yukon) ('cingun' [K])
imangaq	'blackfish' (also 'can'giiq')
inarte-	'to lie down, go to bed'
kenke-	'to love'
nasaurluq*	'young girl, young lady'
neqerrluk	'dried fish'
niite-	'to hear'
nutg-	'to shoot'
paqete-	'to check on, to go see'
qaspeq	'cloth cover parka'
quya-	'to be thankful'
quyana	'thank you' (uninflectable)
tan'gaurluq*	'little boy, lad'
ukveqe- / ukveke-	'to believe' (transitive)
upete-	'to prepare, to get someone ready'
12.3 +(s)ciigate-° (V)	'to be unable to V'
12.4 +(s)ciigali- (V)	'to no longer be able to V'
12.5 +(s)ta (V)	'one who Vs'

12.1 The chart on the next page shows all the transitive indicative endings with 1st, 2nd, and 3rd person subjects and objects. The box in the upper left hand corner shows the 3rd person subject, 3rd person object endings already familiar from Chap. 5.

All these endings use '(g)' for Class II bases. For example, 'kiugamken' (I am answering you). The 'a' of the transitive marker is dropped with Class I bases where a three vowel cluster would result were it kept, the same situation we saw with the third person transitive endings in Chap. 5.

TRANSITIVE INDICATIVE ENDINGS

				OBJECT							
			3rd person			1st person			2nd person		
			s	p	d	s	p	d	s	p	d
SUBJECT	3rd	s	+'(g)a[1]	a	i	k	anga	akut	akuk	aten	aci	atek
		p		at	it	gket	atnga	itkut	itkuk	atgen	iceci	icetek
		d		ak	kek	gkek	agnga[3]	agkut	agkuk	agten	agci	agtek
	1st	s	+'(g)ar	-k̲a	+nka	+gka				-mken	-mci	-mtek
		p		+put	-put	+gput				-mteggen	-mceci	-mcetek
		d		+puk	-puk	+gpuk				-megten	-megci	-megtek
	2nd	s		+n	-ten	+gken	+penga[2]	+pekut	+pekuk			
		p		+ci	-ci	+gci	+pecia	+pecikut	+pecikuk			
		d		+tek	-tek	+gtek	+petegnga[3]	+petegkut	+petegkuk			

[1] The 3rd person subject marker can also be considered to be '+'(g)ar' with the 'r' being dropped by velar dropping. That is, the 3s-3s ending would be ';a', the 3s-3p ending ';i', the 3s-3d ending '+k' etc.

[2] Some speakers, especially from the Kuskokwim, use '-vnga', '-vcia' etc. for the endings in this square.

[3] Some speakers insert 'ne' between 'g' and 'ng' yielding 'agnenga' and '+petegnenga'.

The chart below shows how each group of transitive endings is compounded from endings with which we are already familiar. It also shows whether the object marker precedes the subject marker or vice versa.

		OBJECT		
		3rd person	1st person	2nd person
SUBJECT	3rd per.	obj.-sub. abs. 3rd person	sub.-obj. abs. 3rd person plus intrans. 1st person	sub.-obj. abs. 3rd person plus intrans. 2nd person
	1st per.	obj.-sub. abs. 1st person		sub.-obj. rel. 1st person plus intrans. 2nd person
	2nd per.	obj.- sub. abs. 2nd person	sub.-obj. rel. 2nd person plus intrans. 1st person	

Those endings in the three blocks in the first vertical column on the left of the chart, that is, the endings with a 3rd person object, are exactly like the absolutive noun endings. Here are some examples taken from this group of transitive endings.

1s-3s (I to him) tangrraqa 'I see him' (compare: angyaqa 'my boat') (note that "-ka" always comes out as "qa" here because the transitive marker, "+'(g)ar" ends in a back velar, "r")

1s-3p (I to them) assikanka 'I like them' (compare: angyanka 'my boats')

1p-3s (we to him) ceńirtellruarput 'we visited him' (compare: angyarput 'our boat')

1p-3p (we to them) ceńirtellruaput 'we visited them' (compare: angyaput 'our boats')

1d-3d (we$_2$ to them$_2$) ceńirciiqagpuk 'we$_2$ shall visit them$_2$' (compare: angyagpuk 'our$_2$ boats$_2$')

2s-3s (you$_1$ to him) nallunritan 'you$_1$ know him' (compare: ikamran 'your$_1$ sled')

2s-3p (you$_1$ to them) maligtellruaten 'you$_1$ accompanied them' (compare: ikamraten 'your$_1$ sleds')

2p-3p (you$_{pl.}$ to them) ner'aci 'you$_{pl.}$ are eating them' (compare: ikamraci your$_{pl.}$ sleds')

Drill: Translate into English:

a) Tangellruaqa. b) Pikanka. c) Nerellrunritan-qaa akutaq? d) Meryukapigcugnarqan. e) Qanruciiqaput. f) Utaqangaitagput. g) Kiugarci. h) Pairtagtek-qaa? i) Aptellrunritagci-qaa? j) Assikagken-qaa? k) Assikenritagka. l) Nek'apuk. m) Atrit-qaa nallunritatek? n) Tegullruaten-qaa? o) Aturciqanka. p) Unicugartek-qaa?

Translate into Yup'ik:

a) I want to eat it. b) I'm about to shoot the ducks. c) Did you$_1$ pluck the geese yet? d) We don't care to backpack our children. e) Haven't you$_{pl.}$ told them yet? f) Did you$_2$ tell the children$_2$ a story? g) I won't make him a boat. h) We$_2$ don't care to ask him. i) Are you$_1$ afraid of them? j) Are you$_{pl.}$ afraid of it? k) Did you$_1$ help him? l) They are my relatives. m) I won't write to them$_2$. n) Did you$_{pl.}$ learn it? o) We$_2$ shall teach him. p) I won't dig it.

The endings in the second and third boxes of the top horizontal row on the chart, that is, the "he/they to me/us" and the "he/they to you" endings, are compounded from absolutive 3rd person noun endings (which mark the subject) and 1st or 2nd person intransitive verb endings (which mark the object), although certain changes have taken place during this process of compounding. Some examples are:

3s-1s (he to me) tangrraanga 'he sees me' (the first 'a' after the stem 'tangrr-' is the transitive marker, the second 'a' is like the final 'a' in 'uluara' (her knife), while the 'nga' is like the 'nga' in 'caliunga' (I'm working))

3s-1p (he to us) ikayuryugaakut 'he wants to help us' (compare: caliukut we are working')

3p-1s (they to me) cenirciiqaatnga 'they will visit me' ('at' marks a plural subject while 'nga' marks the object)

3p-1p (they to us) qanrutaitkut 'they tell us' ('it' marks a plural subject for this ending, 'kut' marks the object)

3s-2s (he to you$_1$) nallunritaaten 'he knows you$_1$' (the first 'a' of the ending is the transitive marker, the second 'a' indicates a singular subject while 'ten' indicates second person singular object; compare the 'ten' in 'caliuten' (you are working))

3s-2p (he to you$_{pl.}$) nallunritaaci 'he knows you$_{pl.}$'

3p-2s (they to you$_1$) tangerrsugaatgen 'they want to see you$_1$' (the 'gen' here marks a 2s object, 'you$_1$'. 'gen' is most certainly related to 'ten')

3p-2p (they to you$_{pl.}$) ilakaiceci 'they are related to you$_{pl.}$' ('ic' here is from 'it' as in the third example above, 'ci' indicates 'you$_{pl.}$', and the 'e' is inserted to separate the two 'c's)

Drill: Translate into English:

a) Kegciqaaten. b) Qimugtevec qilullruanga. c) Aptellrunritaanga. d) Assikenricugnarqaaten. e) Ikayuryugaitkut. f) Nallunritaicetek. g) Nalluagtek. h) Aliksugnarqaagkuk. i) Ukveqngaitaaci. j) Maligcugaaten. k) Maliggngaitaanga. l) Qimugtema pairyugyugnarqaatnga. m) Aanavci nunurciqaaci. n) Uikaanga. o) Utaqayugaagten. p) Utaqayugaatgen.

Translate into Yup'ik:

a) He didn't smile at you$_1$. b) He doesn't care to tell me a story. c) They won't hurt you$_2$. d) My dog won't bite you$_1$. e) My dogs will bark at you$_{pl.}$. f) They$_2$ didn't see us$_{pl.}^{1}$ g) He really wants to marry you$_1$. h) My older sister usually babysits me. i) He doesn't understand you$_1$.

The endings in the remaining two blocks of the chart, that is the "you to me/us" endings and the "I/we to you" endings, are compounded from relative 2nd or 1st person endings (which mark the subject) and intransitive 1st or 2nd person endings (which mark the object). Again a number of changes have occurred in the process of compounding these endings. Some examples are given on the following page.

2s-1s (you$_1$ to me) tangrrarpenga 'you$_1$ see me' (for 'pe' compare 'angyarpet' (of your boat), and 'nga' indicates 'me')

2s-1s (you$_1$ to us) tangrrarpekut 'you$_1$ see us'

2p-1s (you$_{pl.}$ to me) ukvekenritarpecia 'you$_{pl.}$ don't believe me' (for 'peci' compare 'angyarpeci' (of your$_{pl.}$ boat), and the final 'a' is from 'nga' indicating 'me'.

1s-2s (I to you$_1$) tangerciqamken 'I shall see you$_1$' (the 'm' is like the 'ma' of the relative ending on 'angyama' (of my boat), while 'ken' indicates 'you$_1$', clearly related to the intransitive ending 'ten' as in 'caliuten' (you$_1$ are working))

1s-2p (I to you$_{pl.}$) tangerciqamci 'I shall see you$_{pl.}$'

1p-2s (we to you$_1$) tangerciqamteggen 'we shall see you$_1$' (the 'mt' is like 'mta' on 'angyamta' (of our boat), and the 'ggen' indicates 'you$_1$')

1p-2p (we to you$_{pl.}$) tangerciqamceci 'we shall see you$_{pl.}$' (note that 'mt' has become 'mc' before the second 'c' and that 'e' has been inserted to separate the 'c's)

1d-2d (we$_2$ to you$_2$) tangerciqamegtek 'we$_2$ shall see you$_2$' ('meg' indicates 'we$_2$' as in 'angyamegnuk' (of our$_2$ boat), while 'tek' indicates 'you$_2$' as in 'caliutek' (you$_2$ are working))

Drill: Translate into English:

a) Kenkamken. b) Ikayuryugarpenga-qaa? c) Qanruciiqamceci. d) Utaqangaitamegci. e) Uniciiqamteggen. f) Taringarpecia-qaa? g) Ceńirciiqarpetegkuk-qaa? h) Ilakarpetegnga. i) Igallruarpecia. j) Kiuyuumiitamci. k) Alikenritamcetek. l) Assikamken. m) Tangellruamegten.

Translate into Yup'ik:

a) Will you$_1$ follow us$_2$? b) Are you$_{pl.}$ afraid of me? c) I don't care to smile at you$_{pl.}$. d) I believe you$_2$. e) We$_2$ shall write to you$_{pl.}$. f) I won't wait for you$_1$. g) We$_{pl.}$ didn't hear you$_1$. h) I don't want to kiss you$_1$. i) I don't know you$_1$. j) Do you$_1$ know me? k) Will you$_2$ make us$_2$ a kayak?

From the chart of transitive endings one sees that the 3s-2s (he - you) ending, '+'(g)aaten', differs from the 2s-3p (you - them) ending '+'(g)aten', by an 'a'[1]. For example:

Tangrraaten 'He sees you.' *vs*. Tangrraten 'You see them.'

Nallunritaaten 'He knows you.' *vs*. Nallunritaten 'You know them.'

In the second pair of examples, the 'aa' in 'nallunritaaten' has double vowel length and the preceding 't' is geminated, while in 'nallunritaten' the 'a' has rhythmic length and the preceding 't' is not geminated.

In the case of Class I bases these two forms come out the same because the transitive marker 'a' is dropped in the 3s-2s form. Thus,

Nalluaten 'He doesn't know you.' *or* 'You don't know them.'

Drill:

For each of the verb bases listed below write and translate the forms for: (i) He to them. (ii) They to them. (iii) They to you$_{\text{pl.}}$. (iv) I to you$_1$. (v) I to them. (vi) You$_{\text{pl.}}$ to me. (vii) You$_1$ to him. (viii) They to us. (ix) He to us$_2$.

The verb bases to use are: a) kiu- b) nallu- c) alike- d) kenke- e) utaqa- f) nunur- g) unite- h) aptellru- i) nallunrite- j) niite- k) ukveke- l) alngarciqe- m) igar- n) qanrusngaite- o) ilake-

Translate:

a) Qimugten alikarput. b) Yungcarista ilakaqa. c) Maligciiqamken. d) Ceñirciiqaanga ataku. e) Aturyugan-qaa? f) Pairciiqaten-qaa allanret? g) Aanakamken-qaa? h) Kenkamken. i) Assikarpenga-qaa?

12.2 There are some special rules of usage which may be optionally applied concerning the endings on the chart.

1) If the dual *object* is specified by a separate word, the ending '+'(g)akek'

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[1] The same difference exists between the 2p-3d ending '+'(g)agci' and the 3d-2p ending '+'(g)aagci', and between the 2d-3d ending '+'(g)agtek' and the 3d-2d ending '+'(g)aagtek'.

may be used in place of the 3d-3d ending '+'(g)agkek'. For example, one can say,

Angutek angyak kiputakek. 'The men_2 buy the $boats_2$.'

(instead of 'Angutek angyak kiputagkek')

2) If the third person dual or plural subject is specified by a separate word, then the singular subject transitive ending may be used in place of the corresponding dual or plural subject ending. For example,

Angayuqaagemta unitaakut. 'Our $parents_2$ left us behind.'

(instead of 'Angayuqaagemta unitaagkut.')

3) If the third person singular object is specified by a separate word, and the subject is first or second person plural or dual, then the third person plural object ending may be used in place of the corresponding singular object ending. For example,

Nerellruaput akutaq. 'We ate the akutaq.'

(instead of 'Nerellruarput akutaq.')

4) When the 1s-3s ending '+'(g)aqa' is used with a Class VI base (V^{g}_{r} shape), the 'a' from the transitive marker may be deleted (see Chap. 2.13). Thus, "eritaraqa" (I am plucking it) may become "erita'rqa", where the apostrophe in the syllable "ta'r" indicates that that syllable recieves extra stress on account of the deleted vowel. If the syllable preceding a deleted 'a' had rhythmic length, then this length is preserved after deleting the 'a' and is indicated by writing the vowel of that syllable double with an apostrophe between them to prevent gemination (see Chap. 1.19). For example, "aturaqa" (I am using it, may become "atu'urqa". These shortened forms aren't used everywhere.

12.3 '+(s)ciigate-°' (V) means 'to be unable to V'. The '(s)' is used with bases that end in vowels. The 'te' on this postbase is Class IVc. This postbase is the negation of '+̃yuuma-' [Y] or '+̃yugnga-' [K] (to be able to V). A variant of this postbase is '-sciigate-°'.

Class	Base	with postbase and ending	
I	cali	Calisciigatua.	'I cannot work.'
II	pai-	Paisciigatanka.	'I cannot babysit them.'
III	nere-	Neresciigataqa.	'I cannot eat it.'
IV	maligte-	Maligtesciigatarpenga-qaa?	'Can't you accompany me?'
VI	atur-	Aturciigatarput.	'We cannot use it.'
	eqiur-	Eqiurciigatua.	'I cannot chop wood.'
	itr-	Iterciigatuq.	'He cannot come in.'

Drill: Translate: a) We cannot go out. b) I cannot understand you. c) He is unable to sleep. d) My dog is unable to dig it. e) The man couldn't swim. f) My children can't sleep. g) He was not able to use my boat. h) Irniaqa tagesciigatuq. i) Tegganeq yurarciigatuq. j) Panika mingqesciigatuq. k) Uima ikirtesciigataa amiik. l) I can't lie down. m) Can't you see it? n) Weren't you able to understand them? o) I won't be able to buy his parka. p) He couldn't bathe.

12.4. '+(s)ciigali-' (V) means 'to no longer be able to V'. As with the preceding postbase, the '(s)' is used with vowel ending stems, and there is the variant '-sciigali-' which drops final consonants and always has an 's'.[1]

Kuimarciigaliunga or Kuimasciigaliunga for 'I can't swim anymore.'

Drill: Translate: a) Calisciigaliuten-qaa? b) Yurarciigaliukut. c) Ikayurciigaliamken. d) Utaqasciigalianka. e) My grandfather can no longer hear. f) The white men can't hunt here anymore. g) The person who was ill can't smoke anymore.

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[1] Another variant common in Nelson Island is '-sciigalli-' with voiceless 'll'.

12.5 '+(s)ta' (V) indicates 'one who Vs' usually in the sense of as a profession but not always, as the last example shows. The '(s)' is used after vowel ending bases. Most Class IVa noun bases come from this postbase. Some examples follow.

pista 'servant' (literally, 'one who does', from 'pi-')

calista 'the worker' (from 'cali-')

neresta 'louse' (literally, 'one who eats', from 'nere-')

kiputesta 'buyer, storekeeper'

kipusviliurta 'storekeeper'

elicarista or elitnaurista 'teacher' (from 'elicari-' and 'elitnauri-')

qimugta 'dog' (lit. 'one that pulls' from 'qimug-' (to pull hard))

pissurta 'hunter' (from 'pissur-')

qanertiit 'their spokesman' (from 'qanr-')

tegusta 'policeman' (lit: 'one who takes')

Angutem tuqutellrua qimugta keggestellni. 'The man killed the dog that bit him.' (lit.'his own former biter')

Drill: Translate: a) She is a singer. b) My father is a story teller.
c) Are you a teacher? d) He is my helper. e) We are not dancers.
f) Do you have a helper? g) Yungcaristeńgunrituq. h) Ikayurtaitutek-qaa?
i) Igarteńguunga. j) Yurarta aturciigatuq. k) Yurarta aturtaituq.
l) Ukvekenritaa aatami iqlustii.

Exercises:

A. Translate into English:

1. Panigpetek kenkaakuk. 2. Kass'at qanrutellrunritaitkut.
3. Maligcuumirciqsugnarqaitkuk. 4. Mikelnguuk ikircuumiicugnarqaak
yaassiik. 5. Carayagpiim tuquciiqsugnarqaaten. 6. Inarcuumiitua.
7. Tan'gurraam assikenricugnarqaaten. 8. Paircuumiiciiqsugnarqaagten.
9. Ceńirtellaraak. (Y) (Ceńirtelaraak (K).) 10. Anngarpeci-qaa
pairtellrunritaaci? 11. Taringaiceci-qaa? 12. Angutek tangerrsullruyugnarqaagci.
13. Tangerrsullruyugnarqagci angutek. 14. Uptagkek uitek.
15. Qimugtecuaraat neresciigatellruit neqerpiit. 16) Allanret pairtakek.
17. Qanrucuumiitellruanga. 18. Apcuumiitellruaqa. 19. Ceńircuumiitell-
ruyugnarqaagnga. 20. Aanamta nunullruakut. 21. Anngarpet qanrucugaakut.
22. Yuut maligtaitkut. 23. Tangerrsugciqaakuk yaaliaku. 24. Yuut
tangerrsugngaicetek. 25. Kamguugka aturyullruak akwaugaq.
26. Assikaakuk maurlurpeci. 27. Pissurngaitaqa. 28. Ceńirrngaitaat allaneq
neviarcaq. 29. Tangerciigatanka yaqulecuaraat. 30. Nasaurluma
cingaryuumiitellruanga akwaugaq. 31. Akwaugaq ceńircullruamken taugaam
taisciigatellruunga. 32. Anngama paqcullrunritaa kuvyaqa. 33. Unuaqu
tangerciqamken. 34. Kamgulillruaqa tan'gaurluq allragni. 35. Tengmiat
tuqusngaitaput. 36. Arnacuar aanakaqa. 37. Irniamegnuk ikayuryugaatgen.
38. Niitesciigatarpecia-qaa? 39. Elicarat ilait puqikapigtut.
40. Irniama-qaa igallrunritaaten? 41. Niitellruarpekut-qaa?
42. Nallullruaqa nutaram elicaristemta atra. 43. Tangellruyugnarqerpecia
yaaliagni. 44. Ikayurciigaliamegtek. 45. Kassuuciiqamken yaaliaku.
46. Cingarciigataanga. 47. Kipusviliurta assikellruarput.
48. Unicuumiitellruarci-qaa qimugtecuarqa? 49. Kenkamken.
50. Kenkarpenga-qaa? 51. Nuliani utaqayuumiitaa. 52. Tan'gaurluut

assiksugnarqaat apa'urluqa. 53. Nasaurluum paqcuumiitellrua kaviarem igtii.
54. Aanavet qaspera assikaqa. 55. Nerellruan-qaa angalkum iinrua?
56. Ceńirciiqamteggen yaaliaku. 57. Akngircuumiitamegci. 58. Assikamcetek.
59. Mikelnguut aturciigatut. 60. Quuyurnitellruartek-qaa yungcaristem pania?
61. Teglellrunritaqa aatavci angyaa. 62. Apesngaitaqa tegusta.
63. Unuaqu maligcugciqsugnarqamci. 64. Apa'urluqa yurarciigaliuq.
65. Kiputellruanka acsat ilait. 66. Tangerciqamci. 67. Calisciigaliunga.
68. Aqumesciigatellruunga. 69. Iterciigatua. 70. Panian assikaaten.
71. Paniin assikaqa. 72. Yaqulek naulluulleq tengesciigaliuq.
73. Kamguugni atullrunritak. 74. Agayulirten ceńirtesciigaciiqaten unuaqu.
75. Utaqaciqamcetek yaaliaku. 76. Tangellruarpecikut-qaa uani?
77. Net'ek kiputellruat angutet. 78. Keneksugnarqaagci. 79. Kenkellren
arnaq ayallruuq. 80. Angalkum tuqutellra arnam uilqaa. 81. Yungcaristem
ceńirtellra nukalpiam nayagaqaa. 82. Atkulillruaten-qaa maurluvet?
83. Qaspelillruanka paniinka allragni. 84. Tangerciqerpuk angalkum
aanii unuaqu. 85. Tangellruarpetegnga akwaugaq maani. 86. Nerellruaci-qaa
imangat? 87. Nuyanka iqaqapigtut. 88. Apa'urlumta qulirit'lallruatkut.
89. Maurluma atkulillrui qetunraanka. 90. Angalkut paniita
uiksullrunritaitkut. 91. Irniarpeci tamallruit issratput.
92. Niitesciigatanka aturtet. 93. Uigtuayukapigtanka. 94. Akwaugaq
utaqasciigatellruamtek. 95. Nel'iyugngaaten-qaa? 96. Yaqulgem igesciigatellrua
acsarpak. 97. Quliritellrunritarpetegkut. 98. Alqerci elitnauristekarput.
99. Agayulirtem angalkut taringesciigatai. 100. Nateq-qaa iqauq?

B. Translate into Yup'ik:

1. He cannot use your gun. 2. The doctor will probably visit the two of you
tomorrow. 3. Did your grandfather want to see me yesterday? 4. The new
teacher wants to teach us. 5. Our daughter's teacher wants to see us_2.

6. I cannot help you any longer. 7. He wanted to see me yesterday but he could not come over. 8. Did you kiss my older sister yesterday? 9. The bear I killed the day before yesterday was very big. 10. He will not ask you. 11. Will you marry the shaman's daughter? 12. Did you$_{pl}$ hear the airplane? 13. Did you$_2$ see my new daughter? 14. The young lady you$_2$ saw was not the shaman's daughter. 15. Did your$_{pl}$ relatives arrive? 16. The young man did not kiss your$_2$ daughter. 17. His mother made you a parka last year. 18. The grandfather who was ill cannot smoke any longer. 19. We shall see you$_{pl}$ tomorrow. 20. He did not care to buy my boots. 21. I have not yet acquired the desire to go to bed. 22. I cannot understand the white man. 23. The Eskimo cannot understand me. 24. They helped us. 25. Your daughter's teacher likes us$_2$. 26. Will the two sons of the doctor help you$_{pl}$? 27. The dog that was sick cannot bark anymore. 28. The young lady I saw yesterday is his daughter. 29. Did you make a parka for her son? 30. Am I a relative of yours? 31. Are you a relative of mine? 32. Do you$_2$ want to help me? 33. I cannot play here any longer. 34. The doctor was not able to see the children who were ill. 35. My son will check his own net tomorrow. 36. Your$_1$ parents visited me the day before yesterday. 37. You bought them.

C. Translate into Yup'ik paying particular attention to singulars, duals, and plurals:

1. I want to see them$_2$. 2. We$_{pl}$ can't help them$_2$ any more. 3. They$_{pl}$ used to help us$_{pl}$. (for "used to" use the postbases 'lar' and 'llru'). 4. Are they$_{pl}$ your$_2$ children. 5. They$_{pl}$ probably want to marry you$_{pl}$. 6. They$_2$ asked me. 7. We$_2$ ate the moose you$_{pl}$ killed. 8. Did you$_{pl}$ break my kayak's bow? 9. We$_2$ won't hunt the small moose you$_2$ saw. 10. Do you$_1$ want to tell me? 11. The new teacher doesn't like us$_{pl}$.

12. I won't take your$_1$ boots. 13. Did you$_1$ steal my spoons? 14. Your$_{pl}$ dog licked me. 15. Their$_{pl}$ dogs$_2$ barked at us$_{pl}$. 16. Do you$_1$ know him? 17. Your$_1$ mother cooked the fish$_1$. 18. I don't care to answer them$_2$. 19. Did you$_{pl}$ use one of my bowls? 20. Did the policeman help you$_2$? 21. Our$_2$ mother scolded us$_2$. 22. I can no longer believe them$_{pl}$. 23. I won't babysit you$_2$. 24. He smiled at us$_{pl}$. 25. They$_2$ won't tell you$_2$ a story. 26. We$_2$ can't wait for you$_2$ any more. 27. You$_{pl}$ will leave us$_{pl}$ behind. 28. Did you$_1$ accompany your$_1$ grandmother? 29. Do you$_2$ want to help me? 30. The girl we$_{pl}$ saw is the teacher's daughter.

D. Translate into English:

1. Nutegyuumiitanka yaqulecuaraat. 2. Ukvekenritamken. 3. Igesciigataqa. 4. Navellruaten-qaa qantat? 5. Cupegtuten-qaa? 6. Igaqsaitagken-qaa angayuqaagken? 7. Niitellruarpecia-qaa? 8. Paqtellruarpuk kuvyan. 9. Upesngaitamtek. 10. Igciiqsugnarqut. 11. Asemtellruagka cavutegken. 12. Uigtuayugaqa asverem kemga egallren. 13. Pertesciigatanka. 14. Eritaqsaitagci-qaa tengmiak nutellregka? 15. Tunciqartek-qaa net'ek ak'allaq? 16. Utaqaciqaqa. 17. Kuvevikaaten-qaa? 18. Imiqsaitapuk napartat. 19. Kaviarem tangellma alikellruanga. 20. Taringesciigatamken.

E. Translate into Yup'ik:

1. Didn't my sister's children tell you yet? 2. Will you$_2$ swallow the pills? 3. He loves you. 4. Your dog wanted to bite us$_2$. 5. We haven't yet heard you$_2$. 6. I am unable to help your$_2$ parents$_2$ any longer. 7. Did you$_{pl}$ check my fishtrap? 8. We don't care to eat the blackfish which you cooked. 9. You are hurting my elbows$_2$. 10. We want to use your$_{pl}$ cloth cover parkas.

11. My teacher will probably want to write to you$_2$. 12. We$_2$ can teach them.
13. We$_{pl}$ broke your$_1$ boat's stern. 14. Did you make a real sled for us?
15. I would very much like to marry you. 16. You$_2$ didn't tell us$_{pl}$ a story
yesterday. 17. I won't stoke it. 18. You broke our pencils. 19. Did you$_{pl}$
check our$_{pl}$ fishtrap at the mouth of the river? 20. I named my sister's
children. 21. The dentist will work on your teeth tomorrow. 22. Your$_2$ dog
licked my daughter's face. 23. Your$_2$ grandfather didn't scold us$_2$.
24. We$_2$ won't pluck the bird that your maternal uncle shot. 25. I usually
wait for them. 26. We don't like the new policeman. 27. Your$_{pl}$ parents
met me the day before yesterday. 28. Did you$_{pl}$ put in the oars$_2$?
29. You probably will arrive at my village tomorrow. 30. They$_2$ probably
don't like us$_2$. 31. We will cut our whiskers. 32. They$_2$ filled their$_2$
own barrel. 33. We$_2$ haven't seen our$_2$ new teacher. 34. She is our$_{pl}$
grandmother. 35. You$_{pl}$ killed the big moose which we$_2$ saw. 36. He wanted
to steal my father's kayak. 37. My grandfather won't make us$_{pl}$ a steam
bath house. 38. The elders will make you$_{pl}$ a community dance house.
39. He cut off the neck of the bird which I killed. 40. We$_2$ bought your$_1$
parents'$_2$ house. 41. They won't turn over my boat. 42. Did you$_{pl}$ hunt the
bears yet? 43. We$_2$ were unable to carry your children. 44. Did you$_1$ learn
the names of our$_2$ dogs yet? 45. I made a handle for my mother's pot yesterday.
46. Can't you$_{pl}$ eat the fermented fish heads?

Chapter XIII Interrogative Verbs with 3rd Person Subjects

Vocabulary

akluq	'article of clothing, or bedding, belongings, merchandise, etc.'	
alinge-	'to be afraid' (intrans.)	
angeq	'chewing gum' (also 'kuc'uq' [Y])	
apr-	'to pronounce'	
ca	'what thing?, something'	
ca-	'to do what?, to do something'	
camek	'of what?'	
cami	'when?, at what specific time?' (past or future)	
ciin	'why?'	
kagi-	'to sweep' (also 'canir-')	
kituu- & kinkuu-	'who is _____?' (use 'kituu-' with sing. subject, 'kinkuu-' with plur. or dual)	
nalir/	'which one(s)'	
naken	'from where?'	
nani	'where?'	
natmun	'to where?'	
qaillun	'how?, in what manner?'	
qaku	'when?' (future) 'how long from now?'	
qangvaq	'when?' (past) 'how long ago?'	
qavcin	'how many?'	see text for difference between these words
qavcinek	'how many?'	
tauna	'that one' (near person spoken to)	
una	'this one' (near speaker)	
13.6 =kiq	'I wonder'	
13.7 -liaq (N)	'made N'	
13.8 -yagaq (N)	'small, young'	

13.1 The verb endings introduced in previous chapters have all been for the Indicative Mood. That family of verb endings is used for making statements and for asking "yes or no" type questions (with the enclitic '=qaa').

In this chapter and the next, the verb endings for the Interrogative Mood are introduced. These are used primarily to ask questions which anticipate more than just "yes" or "no" for an answer. To ask questions which, in English, involve the notion of "who", "why", "where", "when", "how", etc., a special interrogative word or verb stem must be used, and the verb must have an interrogative ending. The chart on the following page shows the 3rd person subject interrogative endings.

In all the interrogative sentences presented in this chapter as examples, you will notice that the interrogative word always occurs first in the sentence. This is the normal pattern whenever an interrogative word is used in an interrogative context. If an interrogative word is used in a non-interrogative context, it need not occur in this position in the sentence (see 13.2 and 16.10).

INTERROGATIVE ENDINGS (3rd person subject)

Transitive:

				OBJECT								
				3rd person			1st person			2nd person		
				s	p	d	s	p	d	s	p	d
SUBJ	3rd	s	$+'\genfrac{}{}{0pt}{}{(g)}{(t)}a$	:gu	ki	kek	nga	kut	kuk	ten	ci	tek
		p		tgu	tki	tkek	tnga	tkut	tkuk	tgen	ceci	cetek
		d		gnegu/ n'gu	gneki	gnekek	gnenga	gnekut	gnekuk	gten	gceci	gcetek

Intransitive:

SUBJ	3rd	s	$+'\genfrac{}{}{0pt}{}{(g)}{(t)}a$	0
		p		t
		d		k

These endings take '(g)' with Class II bases, and "mobile t" with consonant ending bases for both intransitive and transitive as well. Notice that the 3s-3s form is ':gu' which means that this 'g' is dropped when it occurs flanked by single vowels, and this will happen in all cases except with Class I bases (compare the 1s indicative final ending ':nga').

There is considerable variation in the dual subject transitive forms.

Examples:

Class	Base	with 3s intrans. ending	with 3s-3s trans. ending
I	nallu-	Ciin nallua? 'Why doesn't he know?'	Ciin nalluagu? 'Why doesn't he know him?'
II	pai-	Ciin paiga? 'Why is he staying behind?'	Ciin paigau? 'Why is he babysitting him?'
III	nere-	Ciin ner'a? 'Why is he eating?'	Ciin nerau? 'Why is he eating it?'
IV	apete-	Ciin apta? 'Why is he asking?'	Ciin aptau? 'Why is he asking her?'
VI	amar-	Ciin amarta? 'Why is he backpacking?'	Ciin amartau? 'Why is he backpacking it?'

Drill: Make interrogative sentences using 'Ciin' followed by the 3p, 3s-3p and 3s-1s forms for the following bases, and translate:

a) kiu- b) taringe- c) kegge- d) nallunrite-

e) tangrr- f) tangerrsug- g) aptellru- h) mer-

The following interrogative words lack regular inflection.

qaillun	'how'	qaku	'when (in the future)'
ciin	'why'	qangvaq	'when (in the past)'
cami	'when, at what specific time (in future or past)'		

Examples:

Qaill' pia? 'What's wrong (with it, him, her)?' ("qaill'" is short for 'qaillun')

Ciin taillrunrita? 'Why didn't he come?'

Qaillun ayuqak angayuqaagken? 'How are your parents?' (lit: 'how are they like?')

Qaku anngavet ceńirciiqaten? 'When will your older brother visit you?'

Qangvaq tekitellrua? 'When did he arrive?' or 'How long ago did he arrive?'

The interrogative words 'nani' ((at) where), 'natmun' (to where), and 'naken' (from where) must be distinguished in use in Yup'ik (see also Chap. 25).

Nani uitalarta?	'Where does he live?'
Natmun piqatarta?	'Where is he going?' (lit: 'to where')
Naken taillrua?	'Where did he come from?' (lit: 'from where')

Drill: Translate: a) Qangvaq uingellrua? b) Nani allanret uitaat? c) Natmun qimugta keggestelqa pia? d) Qaillun ayuqa tuma? e) Ciin elitnauristevet assikenritaki mikelnguut? f) Ciin tan'gurraam taringesciigaliakek angayuqaagni? g) Qaku alqerpet atkuliciqaki irniani? h) Ciin yuut ilaita keplartatki qimugtemeng pamyuit? i) Ciin angiin calingeksaita? j) When will the priest visit you$_2$? k) When did they$_2$ get married? l) Why does he usually want to swim here? m) How did your father make you a sled? n) What is your village like? o) When did your uncle's house burn down? p) Why did the dogs want to bite him? q) Where will the men build a school? r) Where is the priest's airplane going?

13.2 The interrogative word 'kina' (who), and the demonstrative pronouns (which aren't interrogative) 'una' (this), 'tauna' (that) form their duals, plurals, and relative singular forms in a manner different from ordinary nouns.

abs. sing.	rel. sing.	abs/rel. plural	abs/rel. dual
kina	kia[1]	kinkut	kinkuk
una	uum	ukut	ukuk
tauna	taum	taukut	taukuk

Examples:

Kina aptau? 'Whom is he asking?'

Kia aptau? 'Who is asking him?'

Kia enii ekuaga? 'Whose house is burning?'

Kinkut ayallruat? 'Who$_{pl.}$ left?'

Tauna angyaq imanglartuq. 'That boat (near listener) usually leaks.' (lit: 'usually acquires contents')

Uum angutem maligcugaaten. 'This man (near speaker) wants to go with you.'

Kia pikaki ukut? 'Whose are these?'

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[1] Some people use 'kitum' instead of 'kia'.

The word 'kina' (and some of the other interrogative words) can be used in non-interrogative sentences with the meaning 'someone' (and correspondingly for the others).

Kina ayallruuq. 'Someone left.'

Natmun pillruuq. 'He went somewhere.'

Tangellruaqa kina. 'I saw someone.'

Drill. Translate:

a) Kia teglellruagu atkuun? b) Kia alikaten? c) Kinkut ayagtat? d) Kia qimugtain qilullruatgu paniin? e) Kinkut tuqutellruatki ukut yaqulget? f) Kia kipucugtaki taukut qayat? g) Kinkut quliritlartaceci? h) Who took my boat? i) Who made you boots? j) Who did your grandfather tell? k) Why is the big man walking? l) Why do these boats leak? m) This man's house is very big. n) When will these two get married? o) Is this your father's sled?

13.3 The noun stem 'ca' meaning 'what?' (or 'something' if used non-interrogatively) forms its relative singular and its plural and dual forms in the normal manner for Class I nouns: 'cam', 'cat', 'cak'. However, when one might expect to see 'ca' as the object of a transitive verb, instead the verb is used with an intransitive ending and the word 'camek' (indefinite 'what') is used.

Camek neryugta? '(Of) what does he want to eat?'
(meaning 'what kind of food')

Compare, Ca neryugtau? 'What does he want to eat?' (uncommon)
(meaning 'what specific article of food?')

Camek piyugta? 'What does he want?'

Ca tengqatarta? 'What is about to fly off?'

Cauga una? 'What is this?' (from 'ca' and the postbase '~:(ng(u-')

'Qavcin' meaning 'how many' is a special plural noun form for absolutive or relative. It is often used in apposition with other plural nouns.

Qavcin allanret tekitat? 'How many strangers arrived?'
Qavcin qimugtet qilullruatgen? 'How many dogs barked at you?'

However, when one asks 'how many?' concerning a noun which has been expanded by a verbalizing postbase such as '-ngqerr-', '-nge-', '-li-', or '+(r)yug-', the word 'qavcinek' is used for 'how many'.

Qavcinek qimugtengqerta? 'How many dogs does he have?'
Qavcinek ulualillrua? 'How many uluaqs did he make?'
Qavcinek neqyugta? 'How many fish does he want?'

The words 'camek' and 'qavcinek' are ablative-modalis forms of 'ca' and 'qavcin'. This is another noun case like absolutive and relative. It will be discussed fully in Chapter 16.

Drill: Translate: a) Qavcin mikelnguut alqerpet paigaki? b) Qavcinek kuvyanga? c) Camek tauna angun merta? d) Ca igta? e) Cam patukau una? f) Cakaten taum arnam? g) What does your child want to eat? h) What are those things swimming yonder? i) What did your aunt lose? j) How is your father related to my mother? (use postbase '-ke-') k) How many guns did the nukalpiaq acquire? l) How many teeth does she have?

13.4 The verb bases 'ca-', 'kituu-' and 'kinkuu-' are interrogative themselves and require no further interrogative words. 'Ca-' means 'to do what?' or, when used with a non-interrogative ending, 'to do something'. 'Kituu-' and 'kinkuu-' mean 'who is (subject)?'. 'Kituu-' is used with a singular subject and 'kinkuu-' with a plural or dual subject. (See also Chapter 24)

Caqatarta? 'What is he going to do?'

Cauq. 'He's doing something.'

Kituuga kass'aq? 'Who is the white man?'

Kinkuugat kass'at? 'Who are the white men?'

13.5 The base 'nalir⌿' (which one or ones?) is the interrogative equivalent of some aspects of the word 'ila' (Chap. 8.2). However, 'nalir⌿' is not used to ask "which part" (for that construction see Chap. 25.4). Unpossessed forms of 'nalir⌿' do not occur.

Examples with possessed endings:

Naliat angutet taillrua? 'Which one of the men came?' (naliat: 3p-3s)
compare: Angutet iliit taillruuq. 'One of the men came.'

Naliit angutet taillruat? 'Which ones of the men came?' (naliit: 3p-3p)
compare: Angutet ilait taillruat. 'Some of the men came.'

Nalirci ayagciqa? 'Which one of you will go?' (nalirci: 2p-3s)
compare: Ilaci ayagciquq. 'One of you will go.'

Nalici ayagciqat? 'Which ones of you will go?' (nalici: 2p-3p)
compare: Ilaci ayagciqut. 'Some of you will go.'

Drill: Translate: a) Naliak angyagpet ukinengqerta? b) Naligket taukut yuut kassuuciiqak unuaqu? c) Naligketa qetunraqagten? d) Nalimta aturciqau angyaq? e) Nalirpeci maligcugtakuk? f) Naliput pissurngaitat? g) Naliata alqerpet atkulillruaten? h) Naliita arnat eritallruatki ukut yaqulget? i) Naliata irniarpet nalluagu atqa? j) Naliagnek taukuk arnak uikaten? k) Which one of those boys usually helps his father? l) Which one of you took my coffee? m) Which one of us will tell a story? n) Which one of your arrows broke? o) Which one of those two boxes is empty? p) Which one of his dogs did your grandfather shoot? q) Which ones of you want to help us? r) Which of your feet hurts? s) Which of my ears is frostbitten?

13.6 '=kiq' is an enclitic meaning "one wonders" or often,"I wonder". It is often used with interrogative sentences and occurs after the first word.

Ciin-kiq tauna angun ciuciurta? 'Why, I wonder, is that man fiddling with his ear?'

Kia-kiq tengssuutekau una? 'I wonder whose airplane this is?'

13.7 '-liaq' (N) is generally used with a possessive ending and the possessor is the maker of the thing designated by the underlying noun. For example, 'atkuliaqa' means 'the parka I made' (though it might not be 'my parka').

Angyalian tunellren assirtuq, taug̑aam angyan kiputellren assiituq.
'The boat you made which you sold is good, but your boat which you bought is bad.'

Kia piliaqau una atkuk? 'Who made this parka?' (lit: 'Who has this parka as his made thing?')

13.8 '-yagaq' (N) signifies a small, young thing, usually animate.

yaquleyagaq 'a young bird'

tuntuyagaq 'a small caribou'

For most speakers the 'g' in the middle of the postbase will be deleted when the vowel of the base preceding the 'y' of the postbase is hatted.

tuntuvayaaq 'a young moose' (from 'tuntuvâyagaq')

There is a special word for a young dog or puppy: 'qimugkauyar'. The base of this word is 'qimugkauyar(ar*)-', but the '(ar)' is deleted in the absolutive singular and final 'r' not changed to 'q' in accordance with Chap. 2.12. The plural is 'qimugkauyaraat' (puppies).

Exercises

A. Translate into English:

1) Qavcin ikamrat tekitat? 2) Kina qiaga? 3) Kia tauna qayaqau? 4) Qangvaq tuqullrua? 5) Kia tegullruagu? 6) Ciin tainrita? 7) Qavcin qimugtet aatavet aturlartaki? 8) Ciin qiagak irniagken? 9) Kia taringellruagu elitnauristevut? 10) Qavcin yuut ayagciqat? 11) Ciin panini nunurtau? 12) Qaillun mingqellruatki? 13) Kia una nerciqau? 14) Ciin tegullruatgu? 15) Qavcinek atkungqerta aanan? 16) Kia qanrutellruaten? 17) Qaku nateq kagiciqau? 18) Kia irniara paigau? 19) Naliak ciutegpet qercuaga? 20) Kina qimulvama keggellruagu? 21) Ciin neryuumiitellrua? 22) Enet naliat ekuaga? 23) Kia enii ekuaga? 24) Ciin qimugteteng tuqutellruatki? 25) Angyarpet naliit imangelartat? 26) Nani ilaten uitalartat? 27) Kia una pikau? 28) Kia piliaqau tauna? 29) Qaillun ikirtellruagu una yaassiik? 30) Camek nukalpiaq tangllerpuk pilia? 31) Ciin nuliavet unitellrunritaten? 32) Ciin uivet una ena kiputellruagu? 33) Kia angyan teglellruagu? 34) Ciin qimugteten qilugtat? 35) Ciin uyuraan cupegta? 36) Kia yaquleyagaat nutellrenka eritallruaki?

B. Translate into Yup'ik:

1) Where does he live? 2) When will your husband buy our boat? 3) What are these? 4) Who is coming here tomorrow? 5) Why doesn't he care to leave? 6) When did your father write to us$_2$? 7) How many white men live here? 8) What is he drinking? 9) Why does he usually visit those men? 10) Where are your children playing? 11) Which two of them are alike? 12) Which one of your dogs bit my son? 13) When did your grandmother finish my parka? 14) Whose child is crying? 15) Which of you will help? 16) When did your uncle kill the big bear? 17) How did they make these cooking pots? 18) How did the little boy open those big boxes?

19) Why were his dogs barking at you? 20) Which of your daughters wants to marry the shaman? 21) Why is the Kuskokwim wide here? 22) Where do the men usually steambathe? 23) How did he break his arm? 24) Which one of the women did he marry? 25) Why can't he come with us? 26) Who made these boots? 27) When did she get married? 28) How long ago did your grandfather die? 29) Who made this akutaq? 30) When, I wonder, will it snow? 31) Why hasn't he left yet?

C. Translate into English:

1) Ciin ikirtesciigatellruagu nem'egnuk amiiga? 2) Ciin nateq kagiagu? 3) Qaku uniciiqaki? 4) Kina kiugau? 5) Ciin una yaassiigpak uqiggeta? 6) Qavcinek tangellruat? 7) Ciin irniagni nunurtakek? 8) Qangvaq elallruatgu? 9) Naliata navegtau? 10) Kina kipusviliurteńgua? 11) Kinkuugat? 12) Kinkut kipusviliurteńguat? 13) Kia atkuun piliaqellruagu? 14) Kia qanrutellruaten? 15) Qavcinek egalengqerta neč'i? 16) Kia nerellruaki acsanka? 17) Kia nuyaten kepellruaki? 18) Kia-kiq akngirtellruagu tauna qimugta? 19) Kituuga tauna allaneq? 20) Kinkuugat taukut kass'at? arnarpiit? 21) Qavcinek nayagangqerta? 22) Cayugta? 23) Camek piyugta? 24) Camek neryugta? 25) Nani calia? 26) Naken tengssuulvak taillrua? 27) Qavcinek-kiq irniangqertak taukuk? 28) Nalirpeci una angyarpak piliaqau? 29) Naliagnek angayuqaagpet igalartaten? 30) Kia una angyaqau? 31) Qavcinek ungangqerta aatan? 32) Naliat qimugtevet pamyuita? 33) Nani mikelnguut kuimalartat? 34) Kia ikamran piliaqau? 35) Natmun ayakatartak taukuk?

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D. Translate into Yup'ik:

1) Which of his eyes is black? 2) I wonder why your dog barked at me?
3) How many bowls did he make? 4) Who usually makes coffee here?
5) Which of these barrels are full? 6) How many muskrat skins did your
mother use? 7) How many men usually go hunting? 8) Why is your father sick?
9) Why didn't your sister visit us? 10) Why is this man laughing?
11) Which children were playing with the boat? 12) How many gray hairs
does your older brother have? 13) Which of us will meet the priest tomorrow?
14) How are my grandfather and your$_2$ maternal uncle related?

Chapter XIV. Interrogative Verbs with 1st and 2nd Person Subjects

Vocabulary

aqva-	'to fetch, to go to get'
aqvaqur-	'to run on two legs' (also 'aqeve-')
atrar-	'to go down, descend'
avek	'half'
cali	'more' (uninflectable)
cana- / canar-	'to carve' (intrans.)
cangate-°	'what is amiss?, something is amiss'
eglerte-	'to be in motion'
ingqi-	'to dice, to cut up'
Ingqiliq	'Indian'
ivrar-	'to wade'
ivruciq	'skin (or rubber) wading boot'
kinengyak	'dried meat' (also 'kinertaq' and 'kinertalluk')
kinerte-	'to dry something, or to be dry'
manaq	'fish hook' (also 'iqsak')
manar-	'to fish with a hook and line by jigging'
mayur-	'to ascend, climb, go up'
naaqe-	'to count or read' (trans.)
nangengqa-	'to be standing'
nangerte-	'to stand up'
neqkaq	'food prepared for consumption'
pangalg-	'to run on four legs'
pekete-	'to move around, to walk'
quseq	'a cough, a cold, the flu'
qusr-	'to cough, to have a cold or the flu'
seg- / ceg-	'to cut fish (for drying)' (also 'ulligte-')

tangluq	'showshoe'
tanglur-	'to snowshoe'
tuunraq	'a familiar spirit used by a shaman'
yaquq	'wing'

14.3 =mi	'how about ______'
14.4 $@_5$+pakar-/~vakar- (Y)	'to V so much, or for so long'
14.5 $@_5$+pag-/~vag- (V)	'to V to a large extent'
14.6 -lek (N)	'one having N'

14.1 The chart on the next page shows the interrogative endings for 1st and 2nd person subject with the endings for a 3rd person subject from last chapter included for completeness. Because of the nature of the interrogative mood, 1st person subject transitive interrogative endings are rarely used.

INTERROGATIVE MOOD

Transitive:

SUBJECT			OBJECT 3rd person			1st person			2nd person		
			s	p	d	s	p	d	s	p	d
3rd	s	$+'{}^{(g)}_{(t)}a$	:gu	ki	kek	nga	kut	kuk	ten	ci	tek
	p		tgu	tki	tkek	tnga	tkut	tkuk	tgen	ceci	cetek
	d		gnegu	gneki	gnekek	gnenga	gnekut	gnekuk	gten	gceci	gcetek
1st	s	$@_5\tilde{+}^{(s)}_{(c)}i$							ken		
2nd	s		u	ki	kek	a	kut	kuk			
	p	$@_5\tilde{+}ce$	ciu	ciki	cikek	cia	cikut	cikuk			
	d		tegu[1]	teki	tekek	tegnga	tegkut	tegkuk			

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[1] The 2d subject endings in this row can also be, 'tegnegu, tegneki, tegnekek, tegnenga, tegnekut, tegnekuk'

Intransitive:

SUBJECT	3rd	s	$+'\begin{matrix}(g)\\(t)\end{matrix}a$	0
		p		t
		d		k
	1st	s	$@_5\tilde{+}\begin{matrix}(s)\\(c)\end{matrix}i$	a
		p	$@_5\tilde{+}ce$	ta
		d		ńuk
	2nd	s	$@_5\tilde{+}\begin{matrix}(s)\\(c)\end{matrix}i$	t
		p	$@_5\tilde{+}ce$	ci
		d		tek

To form these endings: 1) for singular subject endings, add 'ci' to bases that end in consonants or 'te', and 'si' to bases that end in vowels other than 'te' bases (Hooper Bay and Chevak use 'yi' instead of 'si'); 2) for plural and dual subject endings, add 'ce' to all bases (Hooper Bay and Chevak add 'ci' to consonant and 'te' bases, and 'yi' to other vowel ending bases); 3) drop any 'e' or 'te' between the base and ending' 4) add final part of ending.

Class	Stem	Example with 2nd pers. sing. ending	with 2nd plur.
I	nallu-	Ciin nallusit (nalluyit)? 'Why don't you know?'	nalluceci
III	nere-	Ciin nersit (neryit)? 'Why are you eating?'	nerceci
	taqe-	Ciin taqsit[1]? 'Why are you quitting?	taqceci or taqseci[2]
IV	kipute-	Ciin kipucit? 'Why are you buying?'	kipuceci
VI	yurar-	Ciin yurarcit? 'Why are you dancing?	yurarceci

Examples:

Kituusit? (Kituuyit?) 'Who are you?' (both the 's' and the 'y' form are common)

Natmun piqatarcit? 'Where are you going?

Naken pisit? (piyit?) 'Where are you coming from?

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[1] Because 'y' after stop or voiceless fricative becomes 's', there is no 'y' variant for this word.

[2] The 'c' of these endings becomes 's' after a stop or voiceless fricative for many speakers.

Unuaqu caciqseńuk? 'What shall we$_2$ do tomorrow?'

Camek piyugcit? 'What do you want?'

Cayugcit? 'What do you want to do?'

Camek neryugcit? 'What do you want to eat?'

Caqatarceci? 'What are you$_{pl.}$ going to do?'

Qaillun ayuqsit? 'How are you doing?'

Casit? (Cayit?) 'What are you doing?' (asked of someone not engaged in a definite activity)

Calisit? (Caliyit?) 'What are you doing?' (lit: 'what are you making?' asked of someone doing something definite)

Qaillun ap'larciu taum atra Yugtun? 'What do you call that in Yup'ik?'

Qangvaq tekitellrusit? 'When did you arrive?'

Qaku ayagciqseci? 'When will you$_{pl.}$ leave?'

Qaillun ilaksia? 'How are you related to me?'

Qaillun ilaksiken? 'How am I related to you?'

Qangvaq kiputellrusiu? (kiputellruyiu?) 'When did you buy it?'

Drill: For the following verb bases, write the 2s, 2s-3s, 2d-1s, 1d, and 2p interrogative forms. For example, for the base 'nunur-' one would write, 'nunurcit, nunurciu, nunurcetegnga, nunurceńuk, nunurcetek'.

a) kiu- b) niite- c) kegge- d) ceńirciiqe- e) atur- f) pair-

g) tangrr- h) nallunrite-

14.2 The verb base 'cangate-$^{\circ}$' can be used interrogatively without a further interrogative word to mean 'what is wrong (with subject)?'. It may be used non-interrogatively to mean 'something is wrong (with subject)'.

Cangacit? 'How are you?' (lit: 'what is wrong concerning you?')

Cangatenritua. 'I'm fine.' (lit: 'there is nothing wrong with me')

14.3 The enclitic '=mi' means 'how about _____', 'on the other hand' or 'but' and is used in interrogative constructions.

Ciin-mi ayagyugcit? 'Why then, do you want to go?'

Kaigtua. Elpesmi? 'I'm hungry. How about you?' ('elpet' means 'you', and the form 'elpet-mi' has the variant 'elpesmi' (see 2.14))

Kuimaryugtua. Cayugcit-mi? 'I want to swim. But what do you want to do?'

14.4 '@$_5$+pakar-/~vakar-' (V) is a postbase meaning 'to V so much, or for so long'. It often appears in interrogative contexts. The 'p' variant is used on consonant bases and 'te' bases (after dropping 'te'), while the 'v' variant is used on vowel bases.

Ciin calivakarcetek? 'Why are you$_2$ working so long?'

Ciin qavarpakarta? 'Why is he sleeping so long?'

14.5 The postbase '@$_5$+pag-/~vag-' (V) meaning 'to V to a large extent' attaches to bases in the same manner as the preceding postbase. A common use of this postbase is with an interrogative ending. The combination of this postbase and an interrogative ending has exclamative force (rather than interrogative) if no interrogative word is used with it. This is a special use of the interrogative mood.

Atkuun assirpagta! 'How nice your parka is!'

Calivagcit! 'How much you are working!'

14.6 '-lek' (N) means 'one having N'.

yaqulek 'one having wings, a bird'

tuunralek 'one having a familiar spirit, a shaman' (another word for shaman besides 'angalkuq')

Kituuga angun qengarpalek? 'Who is the man with the big nose?' (the two nouns, 'angun' and 'qengarpalek', stand in apposition to each other)

Exercises

A. Translate into English:

1) Qaku ceńirciiqsiu aataka? 2) Qaku kepciqsiki nuyanka? 3) Qaku tangerciqsiken? 4) Naken aqvaceciki angyat? 5) Ciin kuvsiu? 6) Angyat naliat piksiu? 7) Ciin ukvekenriciu agayulirta? 8) Qavcinek qayangqercit? 9) Qaku ayagciqseńuk? 10) Camek nerceci? 11) Ciin ngel'arpakarcit? 12) Qaillun ayuqsetek? 13) Kina aanaksiu? 14) Kina aanakseciu? 15) Kinkut aanakseciki? 16) Caqatarceta? 17) Qavcinek qiingqercia? 18) Ciin-mi ciuciurcit? 19) Kina kegguciurteksetegnegu? 20) Kituusia? 21) Qaku taiciqsit maavet? 22) Ciin pairciu qantan? 23) Kia qimugtii tuqutellrusiu? 24) Qaill' pisit? 25) Ciin ikayuryugciki? 26) Kina tanglulillrusiu? 27) Taukut mikelnguut naliit irniaqsetegneki? 28) Ciin ikayuryuumiicecikut? 29) Ciin kaingeksaicit? 30) Ciin-kiq qavarciigacia? 31) Ciin-mi quuyurnitenricetegnenga? 32) Qaillun igalarcit? 33) Qaku quliriciiqsia? 34) Qaillun akutalilarcit? 35) Ciin ikayuryugceciki? 36) Natmun tanglurciqseta? 37) Ikamralian assirpagta. 38) Ciin ivrarcit? 39) Qangvaq igallrusiu? 40) Qavcinek qimugtengsit? 41) Qavcinek qayangceci? 42) Qavcinek irniangqercit? 43) Camek egaqatarcit? 44) Nani calilarcit? 45) Maani casit? 46) Nani uitalarcit? 47) Qangvaq qusngellrusit? 48) Naken kamgungellrusit? 49) Qavcinek ikamralillrusit?

B. Translate into Yup'ik:

1) What are you drinking? 2) What are you eating? 3) Where do you$_{pl}$ usually swim? 4) For whom are you making snowshoes? 5) Are you able to read this? 6) Are you ready to climb? 7) Why can't you Eskimo dance? 8) Why haven't you gone to bed yet? 9) What are you going to buy? 10) Why are you getting fat? 11) How many children do you$_2$ have? 12) When will you check your fishtrap?

13) Why don't you care to hunt the reindeer which I saw? 14) Why are you afraid of my dog? 15) What are you carving? 16) Why are you quitting? 17) When did you kill the squirrel? 18) Why did you scold me? 19) Where will we$_2$ go tomorrow? 20) Where did you$_{pl}$ stay last summer? 21) How many parkas did you make for your son? 22) Which one of these men is your father? 23) Which one of those uluaqs did you make? 24) How did you make a fishtrap? 25) Where do you want to go? 26) Why didn't you buy my father's boats$_2$? 27) When will you buy my former boats? 28) How are you? 29) Who are you? 30) What are you going to do? 31) Where are you$_{pl}$ coming from? 32) What are we$_2$ going to eat? 33) Why are you coughing? 34) I wonder why I haven't become hungry yet? 35) What do you$_{pl}$ want? 36) When did you$_2$ arrive here? 37) How do you say 'thank you' in Yup'ik? (use 'Yugtun' for 'in Yup'ik') 38) How do you pronounce "kashim" in Yup'ik?

Chapter XV. Localis and Terminalis Cases

Vocabulary

agayuvik	'church'
Curyuk / Curyung	'Dillingham'
elli-	'to put, to place'
estuuluq	'table' (Russ.)
Iilgayaq	'Nushagak River'
luuskaaq	'spoon' (Russ.)
Mamterilleq	'Bethel'
Negeqliq*	'St. Mary's '
nipe-	'to be extinguished, to go out' (also, 'qame-')
nuussiq	'knife' (Russ.) (also, 'cavik' and 'caviggaq')
paluqtaq*	'beaver'
qalarte-	'to talk, to speak'
Qaluyaaq	'Nelson Island'
qaneryaraq	'language, word'
qemagte-	'to pack, to stow'
qitevte-	'to speak English'
tatame-	'to be startled'
uterte-	'to return, to go home'

15.2 ÷̃miu (N)	'inhabitant of N'
15.3 ÷̃mete- / ÷̃nete- (N)	'to be at N'
15.4 +̃te- (V)	transitivizing postbase for certain bases
15.5 @$_3$:(u)te- (V)	'to V with oneself or together with other(s)'

15.1 In addition to the absolutive and relative, Yup'ik has five other noun cases. This chapter deals with two of them, the localis, meaning basically "at" or "in", and the terminalis, meaning basically "t" or "into". These two cases along with the remaining cases which will be presented in the following chapters, serve much the same function as prepositions do in English. There are special uses of each case that do not involve the physical location theme of "at", "in", "into", etc., and these special uses will be described later.

The unpossessed singular localis ending is '÷̃mi', and the unpossessed singular terminalis ending is '÷̃mun'. Here are some examples showing the use of these two endings.

Ingrimun ayallruuq.	'He went to the mountain.'
Ner'uq nem'i.	'He's eating in the house.'
Arnam ekellrua nuussiq yaassiigmun.	'The woman put the knife in the box.'

In the third example, even though the English translation uses "in", Yup'ik uses the terminalis case rather than the localis because directed motion is involved.

The chart on the next page shows all the localis endings, possessed as well as unpossessed. The possessed endings are based on the absolutive if the possessor is in the 3rd person, and on the relative (with a few minor changes) if the possessor is 1st, 2nd, or 3R person. Terminalis endings are exactly the same as localis except for having 'un' in the place of the final 'i'. Thus, for example, the 3Rs-d localis ending is '÷gmini' and the corresponding terminalis ending is '÷gminun'.

Localis Case

			s	p	d
unpossessed			÷̃mi	÷̃ni	÷gni
POSSESSOR	3rd	s	:(ng)ani	:(ng)ini	÷gkeni
		p	:(ng)atni	:(ng)itni	÷gketni
		d	:(ng)agni	-kegni	÷gkegni
	1st	s	-mni		÷gemni
		p	-mteńi		÷gemteńi
		d	-megni		÷gmegni
	2nd	s	+peni / -vni		÷gpeni
		p	+peceńi / -vceńi		÷gpeceńi
		d	+petegni / -vtegni		÷gpetegni
	3R	s	-mini		÷gmini
		p	-meggni		÷gmeggni
		d	-megni		÷gmegni

'÷̃mi' is a half-retaining ending like the plural ending '÷t', but when these two endings are added to Class VI, CV^{g}_{r*} ending bases, the results are very different.

Base	with '÷t'	with '÷̃mi'
atkug-	atkuut 'parkas'	atkugmi 'in the parka'
nanvarpag-	nanvarpiit 'big lakes'	nanvarpagmi 'in the big lake'

When '÷t' is added to 'atkug-', we get 'atkugt' hence by 'e'-insertion, 'atkuget' and hence 'atkuut'. However, adding '÷̃mi' to the same base results in 'atkugmi' which has no consonant cluster calling for 'e'-insertion, and so this is the final form. Similarly for 'nanvarpiit' and 'nanvarpagmi'.

Drill: Translate into English: a) Qanganaq itellruuq igteminun. b) Nunamegni qasgirpagtangqertuq. c) Ciin aqumsit natermun? d) Ekellruaqa kuvyaqa angyarpeceńun. e) Yuralartukut elitnaurvimteńi. f) Tan'gaurluq qavartuq apa'urlumi eniini. g) Nunamteńi yuut qitevcuumiitelartut. h) Pissurtem ellillrua paluqtaam kemga estuulumun. i) Arnat pengunun ayagciqsugnarqut. j) Kina iterta kipusvigmun? k) Ellillruanka taukut estuulum qainganun.

Translate into Yup'ik: a) in our house b) in the river c) to their lake d) in the chewing gum e) I fell into the water. f) He put the knife into the bowl. g) We saw him at your steambath house. h) He's eating at his older brother's. i) My daughter stays at my parents' house. j) There is a table in the church. k) The fox went into its own den. l) Our dog won't go into the fox's den.

15.2 The postbase '÷̃miu' (N) means 'inhabitant of N'.

Kusquqvagmiu 'Kuskokwim person'

Camiungusit? 'Where are you from?' ('ca' plus '÷̃miu' plus ':̃(ng)u' meaning "to be", plus interrogative ending 'sit')

Kuigpagmiunguunga. 'I'm from the Yukon.'

15.3 '÷̃mete-° / ÷̃nete-°' (N) 'to be located in' is one of the very few contractions in Yup'ik. It is a contraction of the localis endings '÷̃mi', '÷̃ni', etc., and the archaic base 'ete-°' which means 'to be'. Examples with explanations:

Nem'etuq. 'He is in the house.' (from "nem'i et'uq")

Ellametuq. 'He is outside.' (from "ellami et'uq")

Yaassiigem iluanetuq.[1] 'It is inside the box.' (from "yaassiigem iluani et'uq")

Angyamnetuq. 'It's in my boat.' (from "angyamni et'uq")

Maanelngaituq. 'He won't be here.' (from "maani", "ete-°" and the postbase "$@_2\tilde{+}$ngaite-°")

15.4 The postbase '$\tilde{+}$te-' (V) is used on certain normally intransitive verb bases to change them into transitive bases. The meaning of '+te-' is broadly 'to act on object so as to cause its V-ing'. This postbase always comes before any other postbases when it is used.

Base	Expanded base	With ending
tuqu- (to die)	tuqute-	Tuqutaa. 'He kills it.'
tai- (to come)	taite-	Taitaa. 'He brings it over.'
uita- (to stay)	uitate-	Uitataa. 'He lets it stay, leaves it alone.'
tatame- (to be startled)	tamate-	Tatamtaa. 'He startles him.'
ane- (to go out)	ante-	Antaa. 'He puts it out(side).'
itr- (to go in)	iterte-	Itertaa. 'He puts it in(side).'
atrar- (to go down)	atrarte-	Atrartaa. 'He takes it down.'
mayur- (to go up)	mayurte-	Mayurtaa. 'He puts it up.'

Drill: Translate into English: a) Ciin nanirput nipteksaiciu? b) Itertellrua yaassiik nem'inun. c) Ciin taitellrusiu nuussiq? d) Mikelnguum atrartellrua luuskaaq natermun. e) Qaku nanit nipciiqaki? Translate into Yup'ik: f) a) The children won't leave the dog alone. b) Whose child put this on the table? c) It blew the paper away.

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[1] In a word like 'iluanetuq' where rhythmic length won't be affected, the 'e' may be dropped giving 'iluantuq'.

15.5 The postbase '$@_3$:(u)te-' (V) covers several different ideas that involve the concept of acting "together". First we shall look at the way in which this suffix attaches to bases, and later at its meaning with various types of bases.

This is a type 3 'te'-affecting suffix (Chap. 2.4.7). The '(u)' is used except with bases that end in prime vowels (Class I and II). This is a velar dropping suffix. As for its treatment of 'te', Class IVa 'te' is dropped but the preceding fricative is not devoiced. Class IVb 't' changes to 'y', while Class IVc 't' changes to 'l'.

Class	Base	Expanded Base	With ending
II	kiu-	kiute-	Kiutuk. 'They$_2$ answer each other.'
III	ane-	anute-	Anutaa. 'He takes it out with him.'
IVa	qalarte-	qalarute-	Qalarutut. 'They are talking to each other.'
IVb	apete-	apêyute- → apyute-	Apyutaa. 'He asks on her behalf.'
IVc	nallunrite-	nallunrilute-	Nallunrilutuk. 'They$_2$ know each other.'
VI	ikayur-	ikayuute-	Ikayuutut. 'They are helping out.'
	qanr-	qanrute-	Qanrutaa. 'He tells her.'

The meaning of this postbase can best be understood by examining the way in which it affects the meaning of various types of bases.

Verbs of speaking, verbs admitting reciprocal action, verbs where action can be done for someone, etc.

Base	Expanded Base	with intrans. ending	with trans. ending
qalarte-	qalarute-	Qalarutut. 'They converse.'	Qalarutaa. 'He talks to her.'
qitevte-	qit'vute-	Qit'vutuk. 'They$_2$ speak English to each other.'	Qit'vutaa. 'He speaks English to her.'
qanr-	qanrute-	- - -	Qanrutaa. 'He tells her.'

(continued)

Base	Expanded base	with intrans. ending	with trans. ending
kenke-	kenkute-	Kenkutuk. 'They$_2$ love each other.'	---
kipute-	kipuyute-	---	Kipuyutaa. 'He buys her something.'
nere-	nerute-	Nerutuk. 'They are sharing food with each other.'	Nerutaa. 'He buys a meal for, shares food with her.'

Verbs of Motion

Base	Expanded base	with transitive ending
uterte-	ut'rute-	Ut'rutaa. 'He brings it back with him, returns it.'
age-	agute-	Agutaa. 'He takes it over with him.' (compare 'Taitaa'-'He brings it over with him.')
ayag-	ayaute-	Ayautaa. 'He takes it away with him.'
ane-	anute-	Anutaa. 'He takes it out with him.' (compare 'Antaa' - 'He puts it out.')
itr-	itrute-	Itrutaa. 'He brings it in with him.' (compare 'Itertaa' - 'He puts it in.')
mayur-	mayuute-	Mayuutaa. 'He brings it up with him.' (compare 'Mayurtaa.')
atrar-	atraute-	Atrautaa. 'He brings it down with him.' (compare 'Atrartaa.')

Drill: Translate into English: a) Itrutaa nutka nem'inun. b) Kass'at qit'vutait irniaput elitnaurvimteńi. c) Ciin kuvyan atrautellrusiu angyarpenun? d) Kia nerutau paniin nervigmi? e) Igautellrua qanelqa kalikamun.

Translate into Yup'ik: a) Why did you bring the dog which died into the house? b) He told the priest in the church. c) I brought the knife up (from the shore) to your house. d) The fox brought the mink which it had killed into its den.

Exercises

Translate into English:

A. 1. Nani uitalarcit uksumi? (this is a time localis) 2. Ernermi pissullruukuk.
3. Qayamini nukalpiaq qavartuq. 4. Mikelnguut kuimarciigaliut kuimteni.
5. Egatek uitauk qaingani estuulum. 6. Kina taluyaliurta kuigem paingani?
7. Ner'uq angalkum eniini. 8. Tan'gurraq nangengqauq qasgim qaingani.
9. Pengunun ikamrat ayagtut. 10. Nem'inun angutem itrutaa yaassiigpak.
11. Qairnun qayat tekitut. 12. Ciin kuvsiu kuuvviaq natermun?
13. Iluanun tengssuutem kanaqlak itertuq. 14. Tuntum iruanun ciivak
mit'ellruuq. 15. Atkuugni nuliaminun tunellruak. 16. Pissurta kuigem
akianun ayallruuq. 17. Qaku atrarciqseta angyamteńun? 18. Nukalpiaq tag'uq
nanvam ceńiinun. 19. Natmun ellillrusiu igarcuuteka? 20. Egatmun meq kuvaa.
21. Qemagtellruak kameksiigni yaassiigmun.

B. Translate into Yup'ik and identify the case of each noun, the mood of each verb, and the function of each word in the sentence:

1. He took the tote bag into the house. 2. He lives in Bethel. 3. We took
the guns down to the boat. 4. He returned the sled to its owner (pikesta).
5. My mother can't sew inside her own house. 6. The preacher spoke to the
children inside the church. 7. Why did you spill the water into her pot?
8. We didn't care to put the fish in their$_2$ sleds. 9. They usually dance
in our big house. 10. When will you take my backpack down to our$_2$ kayak?
11. Whose knife is on your table? 12. When did you pack your childrens'
parkas into the boxes? 13. When will you return the dog to its owners?
14. The elders usually tell quliraqs to the young men in their own community
house. 15. The man and his son brought water into their$_2$ steambath house.
16. He put my spoon in his (own) bowl. 17. Why did he take his (own) taluyaq

to his own boat? 18. How many students are studying in your new school? 19. When will you take the parka you made over to my parents$_2$? 20. How many moose did you see in the mountains?

Chapter XVI. Ablative-Modalis Case

Vocabulary

agiirte-	'to approach from the distance' (intrans. only)
aqumlleq	'chair' (also 'aqumllitaq')
aurre-	'to crawl' (humans only)
ciissiq	'insect, crawling thing'
cikir-	'to give'
ciku	'ice'
ciku-	'to freeze'
ekvik	'cliff, bank' (also 'peńaq')
igvar-	'to appear from close behind something, to come into sight'
kangeq	'top, peak'
kiircete-°	'to be hot' (weather)
kiiryug-	'to be hot' (warm blooded creature)
kumlate-°	'to be cold' (object)
murak	'wood'
payugte-	'to take food or a gift over to someone'
qerrute-	'to be cold' (warm blooded creature)
tunge/	'direction of --' (must be used with possessed ending)
tuyur-	'to send'
umyuarteqe-	'to think' (intrans. only)
uuqnarqe-	'to be hot' (object)
16.7 $@_5\tilde{+}$neq & $@_1$-neq	'result of V-ing' & 'activity of V-ing'
16.8 -llr/ (V)	'act of V-ing'
16.9 +kaq (N)	'future N'
16.10 $@_3$:(u)ciq (V)	'amount of V, condition with respect to V'

16.1 The ablative-modalis case has a double name because it is the result of a merger in Yup'ik of two cases which are still distinct in Inupiaq Eskimo. The abl.-mod. case endings are formed using the chart of localis endings in Chapter 15, substituting "mek" for "mi" and "nek" for "ni". Speakers from Hooper Bay - Chevak use "meng" and "neng" instead of "mek" and "nek".

16.2 The abl.-mod. of point of origin. The abl.-mod. is used to indicate where something is coming from in a physical sense, just like the terminalis case is used to tell where something is going to.

> Ayallruuq Kuigpagmek Kusquqvagmun. 'He went from the Yukon to the Kuskokwim.'
>
> Tegullrua nuussini estuulumek. 'He took his knife from the table.'
>
> An'uq nem'inek. 'He is going out of his own house.'
>
> Ikamraq atrallruuq ingrim kangran tungiinek. 'The sled came down from the direction of the top of the mountain.'

Drill: a) Tagutellruit muriit angyameggnek. b) Aurruq aatami maqivianek. c) Uterciiquq yaaliaku nunarpagmek. d) Mikelnguut aqvaqulartut elitnaurvigmek nem'eggnun. e) Aqvallruaqa ellivimteñek. f) Why did you bring the spoon from the table? g) He brought the gun from his house. h) The mink took the little bones out with him from his den.

16.3 The abl.-mod. as indefinite object. Consider the difference in English between "he sees the mink" and "he sees a mink." In Yup'ik this distinction between a definite object ("the mink") and an indefinite object ("a mink") is made by using a transitive verb ending in the first example with the object in the absolutive case, and an intransitive verb ending in the second example with the indefinite object expressed by the abl.-mod. case.

Tangrraa imarmiutaq. 'He sees the mink.'

Tangertuq imarmiutarmek. 'He sees a mink.'

Other examples:

Angutem neraa neqa. 'The man eats the fish.'

Angun ner'uq neqmek. 'The man eats a fish' or 'The man eats some food.'

Anngama aturaa angyaqa. 'My older brother is using my boat.'

Anngaqa aturtuq angyamnek. 'My older brother is using a boat of mine.'

With interrogatives especially, the abl.-mod. is used as an indefinite object of an intransitive verb much more frequently than the absolutive plus transitive construction.

Camek neryugcit? 'What do you want to eat?'

Qavcinek tuntunek tangellrusit? 'How many caribou did you see?'

The abl.-mod. may be used for negative sentences:

Nerenrituq acsanek. 'He isn't eating any berries.'

Camek nerellrunritua. 'I didn't eat anything.'

Drill: a) Tangellruunga angyarpagmek. b) Alingelartuten-qaa yungcaristenek? c) Camek nerellrusit? d) Alqaqa kipuculartuq aklunek nutaranek. e) Qimugten pairtuq qantavnek. f) She's sewing a parka. g) Grandfather is backpacking a small child. h) He's sewing boots. i) She is going to pluck some big birds. j) Did you shoot a beaver? k) She diced some seal meat. l) We caught some fish. (use "cange-" [to acquire something] for 'catch').

16.4 The abl.-mod. with verbs of giving. Some verbs of giving use the direct object in the absolutive to tell who something is being given to and specify the object given by a noun in the abl.-mod. case.

Payugtaa akutamek apa'urluni. 'She takes akutaq to her grandfather.'

Cikiraa nutegmek qetunrani. 'He gives his son a gun.'

Tuyurciqamken acsanek. 'I shall send you some berries.'

Not all verbs of giving behave this way; 'tune-' does not.

Tunellrua angyaq anngaminun. 'He gave the boat to his brother.'

16.5 The abl.-mod. as subject matter of speaking, thinking, etc. Here it can be translated by the English preposition "about".

Qanruciiqamken carayagmek tuqutellemnek. 'I shall tell you about the bear I killed.'

Camek umyuarteqsit? 'What are you thinking about?'

Aptellruskut camek piyullemteńek. 'He asked us what we wanted.'

16.6 The abl.-mod. of specification is used with verbs which are composed of noun bases expanded by verbalizing postbases such as '-ngqerr-', '-nge-', '-li-', and also the postbase '-lek'. The noun in the abl.-mod. tells what kind, how many, of what kind of material, or which thing is possessed, acquired, made, etc.

Qavcinek qimugtengqercit? 'How many dogs do you have?'

Nutaramek angyanguq. 'He got a new boat.'

Atkuliuq kanaqlagnek. 'She is making a parka out of muskrat.'

Angun atkulek paluqtarnek aatakaqa. 'The man with the beaver parka is my father.'

Also sentences like:

Muirtuq mermek. 'It is full of water.'

Drill: a) Kia cikillruaten uqumek? b) Qaku tuyurciqsia neqerrlugnek? c) Arnat qalarut'lartut irniameggnek. d) Qanrucuumiitaqa aataka teglellemnek. e) Camek imangqerta tauna yaassiicuar? f) Estuululiciqua muragmek. h) The teachers spoke English to the people about the children. i) I want a new boat. h) We have a Yup'ik teacher. j) He took his grandfather akutaq.

16.7 '@$_5\tilde{+}$neq' (V) converts a verb base to a noun meaning 'the thing that results from V-ing'.[1] This postbase drops 'te' from Class IV stems without devoicing any preceding fricative.

erneq	'day'	(from 'erte-' meaning 'to dawn')
kumlaneq	'frozen fish'	(from 'kumlate-')
ukineq	'hole'	(from 'ukite-' meaning 'to pierce')
iterneq	'cold draft entering a house'	(from 'itr-')
ayagneq	'a beginning'	(from 'ayag-')

'@$_1$-neq' (V) converts a verb base to a noun meaning 'the activity or state of V-ing'. It can often be translated as an English gerund: 'V-ing'. This postbase is marked with the symbol '@$_1$' which means that it drops 'te' on Class IV bases where a fricative precedes the 'te', and devoices the fricative, but keeps 't' (dropping only 'e') if a vowel precedes it.

errneq	'dawning'
kumlatneq	'being cold'
it'neq	'the activity of entering'

Yuraneq assikaqa. 'I like dancing.'

16.8 Another postbase which makes verbs into gerundive nouns is '-llr∤'. We've seen this postbase meaning 'the one that V-ed or was V-ed' (Chap. 16.3). With intransitive bases when this postbase is used with a possessed ending it often means, 'his act of V-ing'.

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[1] The meanings of words expanded by this postbase are fixed in usage.

ayallra 'his departure'

Qanrutellruanga qetunrami tekitellranek. 'He told me about his son's arrival.'

16.9 The postbase '+kaq' is used with noun bases. It has a future connotation meaning 'raw material for N', or 'his future N' when it has a possessed ending. When it is used on a base that has already been expanded by the preceding postbase, it means 'future act of V-ing'.

kuvyarkaq 'something for making fishnets', a word for 'twine'

neqkaq 'raw material for food', 'a prepared meal'

Tekitaa uitavigkani. 'He arrived at the place where he would stay.'

Alinguq tuqullerkaminek. 'He is afraid of his own future act of dying. ' i.e. 'He is afraid of dying.'

16.10 '$@_3$:(u)ciq' is a postbase usually used with a possessed ending. It means broadly 'condition with respect to V-ing'. It attaches to verb bases in the same way as the postbase '$@_3$:(u)te-' from Chapter 15.

Class	Base	Example of use
I	cali-	Niitan-qaa calicia? 'Have you heard whether he's working?'
II	cau- (from 'ca-' and '?(ng)u-')	Nalluaqa uum caucia. 'I don't know what this is.'
III	ayuqe-	Nallunritaqa ayuqucia. 'I know what it's like.'
IVa	inarte-	Aptaa inarucianek. 'He is asking him whether she is going to bed.'
IVb	tekite-	Qanrutaanga tekiyucivnek. 'He told me about your arrival.'
IVc	nante-° (from 'nani ete-°')	Nallunritan-qaa nanlucia? 'Do you know his whereabouts?'
IVc	tekiteksaite-°	Niitaqa tekiteksailucia. 'I hear that he hasn't arrived.'

(continued)

Class	Base	Example of use
VI	assir-	assiucia 'whether it's good'
	kaig-	kaigucia 'whether he's hungry'
	qanr-	qanrucia 'whether he's speaking'

Constructions involving this postbase often also involve an interrogative word. Compare the first example below where the matter being asked about is of a "yes or no" nature, with the other examples.

Aptellruanga ayallrucivnek. 'He asked me whether you left.'

Aptellruanga ciin ayallrucivnek. 'He asked me why you left.'

Aptellruanga natmun ayallrucivnek. 'He asked me where you left to.'

Aptellruanga qangvaq ayallrucivnek. 'He asked me how long ago you left.'

This postbase has the peculiarity of often preserving the verbal character of the underlying verb base. For example:

Aptellruanga angun nerellrucianek. 'He asked me whether the man ate.'

Here "the man" is expressed in the absolutive case ('angun') as the subject of the underlying intransitive verb 'nerellru-', rather than in the relative case as the possessor of the noun 'nerellruciq'. When the underlying verb is considered in a transitive sense, its subject is put in the terminalis case and its object in the absolutive case.[1]

Aptellruanga angutmun akutaq nerellrucianek. 'He asked me whether the man ate the akutaq.'

Drill: a) Niitellruunga ut'ruciatnek. b) Quyauq qetunrani elitnauristengucianek. c) Aptaanga ciin kipucunrilucirpenek qimugteminek.

d) Assikan-qaa yuraneq? e) Tekitellmeggnek ayallerkameggnun maani uitaciqut. f) Qanrutellruatnga maanlucivnek. g) He asked me what my village is like. h) I don't know if my grandfather's stories are good. i) I shall ask him where she went. j) They arrived at their hunting place (future place to hunt). k) It is in the boat. l) Do you know why he isn't at the school?

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[1] See also Chapter 21 on the compound verbal postbases, and also the Addendum on page 322 for related uses of the terminalis case.

16.11 Certain verb bases can be used with a transitive ending and a subject which is not expressed by a separate word, as an alternate to an intransitive ending.

Qerrutaanga. 'I'm cold.' (instead of 'qerrutua')

Cikua. 'It freezes.' (instead of 'cikuuq')

These may be viewed as having "a natural force" as the subject; thus, "a natural force is chilling me", "a natural force freezes it". However, no separate noun is used to denote the impersonal subject, "a natural force", in this type of construction.

Exercises

A. Translate the following sentences and tell why the abl.-mod. case is used in each sentence where it occurs.

1. Ingrimek atrartuq. 2. Tengmiaq teng'uq nanvamek. 3. Aatii tag'uq angyaminek. 4. Qangvaq nunavnek ayallrusit? 5. Nukalpiaq pissullruuq tuntunek. 6. Agayulirtem qetunraanek uinguq. 7. Qantaliyugtua muragmek. 8. Maurluun neqnek segtuq. 9. Akutamnek payugciiqamci. 10. Qasgimek angutek an'uk. 11. Angutem anutellrua qimugta maqivigmek. 12. Mikelnguq igtellruuq ekvigmek kuigmun. 13. Arnat atraryuumiitut pengum kangranek. 14. Allaneq agiirtuq kuigem paingan tungiinek. 15. Nerellruukut akutamek. 16. Tengssuun igvallruuq ingrit tungiitnek. 17. Apciiqaqa maurluqa qaillun aatamnun ilakucianek aciin. 18. Calineq assikenritaqa. 19. Kia qanrutellruaten uterteksailucianek. 20. Nalluunga ciin panimnun igyuumiilucianek iinruq. 21. Iternirtuq maani. 22. Ciin qanrucuumiiciu pissullerkarpenek? 23. Ciin apteksaiciu apa'urlumi nunallra ayuqucianek? 24. Natmun mikelnguyagaq aurra? 25. Yungcarista aanami piliaranek atkungellruuq. 26. Camek tauna issralvak imangqerta? 27. Ciin tegullrusiki luuskaat estuulum qainganek? 28. Ciissiq igvartuq qayam kinguanek. 29. Alinguten-qaa carayagnek? 30. Alikaten-qaa carayiit? 31. Tauna qimugta qilullruuq mikelngurmek. 32. Ulualiaqa aqumllerem qaingantuq. 33. Tangellruuten-qaa iliitnek allanret? 34. Taiciiqaqa nuussirpak nemteńek. 35. Qavcinek kiputellrusit? 36. Qanrutaanga tekitellminek. 37. Camek qalarutellruaten? 38. Qaillun tegullrusiki neqerrluut napartamek? 39. Camek aanan issracilarta? 40. Canauq qantamek. 41. Maurluma anutellrua mikelnguq nem'inek. 42. Payugciiqagka angayuqaagka kumlanernek. 43. Mingquq atkugmek. 44. Eliteksaituten-qaa mingqenermek? 45. Nalluaqa ciin qavarciigalucin. 46. Aptaa aipaa maligcuucianek. 47. Maani kiircetuq. 48. Tauna uuqnarquq.

Exercises, continued.

B. 1. How many moose did you shoot? 2. We brought the berries from our boat.
3. He acquired a parka of rabbit skins. 4. She wants a table made of wood.
5. He arrived from Bethel yesterday. 6. They went from Bethel to Dillingham.
7. We ate some frozen fish and dried meat. 8. I saw some muskrats across
the small lake. 9. The boat appeared from the direction of the large village.
10. He took some berries to his older sister and her husband. 11. He asked
us whether you had left. 12. Why are you crawling? 13. Why is the food cold?
14. He brought the net from his own kayak to mine. 15. How many dogs do you
have? 16. I have a new house. 17. He's drinking Coca-Cola. 18. He's
thinking about his son's marriage last year. 19. What is approaching from
the direction of the school? 20. The moose skin is in the sled. 21. His
departure was slow. 22. My grandmother doesn't care to drink any water.
23. He bought a new rifle from the store in Bethel. 24. The white men weren't
able to eat frozen fish. 25. My grandmother made me boots out of fish skin.
26. What are you carrying on your back? 27. What are you afraid of?
28. He told us about his forthcoming house-building. 29. What are we
going to eat tomorrow? 30. The men brought the boat up onto the shore of
the pond. 31. The dog barked at some of the strangers. 32. The dog barked
at some strangers. 33. At the mouth of the river we saw some fishnets.
34. He took our$_2$ bowls$_2$ from our$_2$ tables$_2$. 35. He built a kayak out of
seal skins. 36. We can no longer hunt for beavers in the rivers. 37. The
people put the insects out of their house. 38. Why did you take the pot from
inside the box? 39. It's in the river. 40. I don't know whether it's good.

Chapter XVII. Vialis Case and Aequalis Case

Vocabulary

aci	'area below, mattress' (also 'curuq' for mattress)
avelngaq*	'mouse, vole' ('avcellngaq*' [Y], also 'uugnar')
cani⌿	'area beside something'
culurte-	'to dock a boat'
egturyaq	'mosquito' (also 'makuryaq')
kaug-	'to strike or hit' (also 'kaugtur-')
kenir-	'to cook' [K]
keniraq	'cooked food'
mulut'uuk[1]	'hammer' (Russian) (also 'multuuk', 'mul'tuuk', and 'mulut'uutaq')
neqliur-	'to serve food'
qanikcaq*	'snow on the ground'
qiuryaq	'northern lights, aurora borealis'
qukaq	'middle, waist'
qule⌿	'area above something'
yuar-	'to search for something' ('ivar-' [Hooper Bay - Chevak])

17.3 +ta- (V)	'to be V to a certain extent'
17.4 +cuun / +ssuun (V)	'device for V-ing'
17.5 +cur- / +ssur- (N)	'to hunt for N'
17.6 -ngnaqe- (V)	'to try to V'
17.7 +̃yaaqe- (V)	'to V without accomplishing the desired result'

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[1] The apostrophe in this word indicates that 't' is to be geminated and that therefore the preceding 'u' does not have rhythmic length: mu/lut/'uuk. If
CV CVC CVVC
the apostrophe were omitted, the second vowel of the word would have rhytmic length and this would block gemination of the 't'. Compare "mulut'uuk" (hammer) and "mulutuuk" (the two of them usually take a long time). The gemination pattern in the word "mulut'uuk" is common in Russian loan words but not in native Yup'ik words.

17.1 The table below shows the endings for the Vialis case.

			s	p	d
unpossessed			÷kun	÷tgun	÷gnegun / ÷gkun
POSSESSOR	3rd	s	:(ng)akun	:(ng)ikun	÷gkenkun
		p	:(ng)atgun	:(ng)itgun	÷gketgun
		d	:(ng)agnegun	-kegnegun	÷gkegnegun
	1st	s	-mkun		÷gemkun
		p	-mteggun		÷gemteggun
		d	-megnegun		÷gmegnegun
	2nd	s	+pegun / -vkun		÷gpegun
		p	+pecetgun / -vcetgun[1]		÷gpecetgun
		d	+petegnegun / -vtegnegun		÷gpetegnegun
	3R	s	-mikun		÷gmikun
		p	-megteggun		÷gmegteggun
		d	-megnegun		÷gmegnegun

Like the terminalis, localis, and abl.-mod., the possessed vialis endings are based on the relative endings (except for 3rd person possessor which is based on the absolutive). There is considerable variation in the lesser used of these endings from region to region and speaker to speaker.

The vialis case is used to describe the region through which motion occurs, and can be translated as 'via', 'through', or 'by way of'.

Ayagtuq Kuigpagkun. 'He is going by way of the Yukon.'

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[1] Some speakers use '+peciuggun / -vciuggun' for this ending'

When the plural and dual unpossessed vialis endings are added to a Class VI, CV^{g}_{r*} ending base, 'e'-insertion causes the end results to be very different;

Nanvarpagteggun 'through the big lakes'

but,

Nanvarpiignegun (or, nanvarpiigkun) 'through the big lakes$_2$'

The difference here is caused by the fact that we start out with 'nanvarpagtgun' and 'nanvarpagegnegun' for plural and dual respectively. In the case of the plural form, the three consonant cluster has 't' as its middle letter so it is broken with an 'e' after the 't' giving 'nanvarpagteggun' (the 'g' is doubled to show that it is still voiceless). In the case of the dual form, however, 'e' was inserted when the ending was added to separate the 'g' of the base from the 'g' of the ending (see 2.4). In 'nanvarpagegnegun' the velar 'g' has a single vowel on each side of it so velar-dropping and the appropriate change described in Chapter 2.4.6 applies, giving 'nanvarpiignegun'.

Another use of the vialis case is to indicate the instrument by which an action is performed, and may be translated 'by means of' or 'with'.

Luuskaamteggun nerlartukut. 'We usually eat with our spoons.'

Angyamikun tekitellruuq. 'He arrived using his boat.'

A third use of the vialis is when a part of the whole is affected.

Akngirtua it'gamkun. 'I'm hurt on my foot.'

Qimugtem keggellruanga irumkun. 'The dog bit me on my leg.'

Egateka ukinengqertuq acimikun. 'My pot has a hole through its bottom.'

Navgaa angyani kinguakun. 'He broke his boat on its stern.'

Qercuallruunga ciutemkun. 'I got frostbit on my ear.'

17.2 The table below shows the endings for the aequalis case. These endings are also similar to the preceding case endings and again there is considerable variation in the less used forms.

Aequalis Case

			s	p	d
unpossessed			÷tun	÷cetun	÷gtun
POSSESSOR	3rd	s	:(ng)atun	:(ng)itun	÷gketun
		p	:(ng)acetun	:(ng)icetun	÷gkecetun
		d	:(ng)agtun	-kegtun	÷gkegtun
	1st	s	-mtun		÷gemtun
		p	-mcetun		÷gemcetun
		d	-megtun		÷gmegtun
	2nd	s	+petun / -vtun		÷gpetun
		p	+pecetun / -vcetun		÷gpecetun
		d	+petegtun / -vtegtun		÷gpetegtun
	3R	s	-mitun		÷gmitun
		p	-megcetun		÷gmegcetun
		d	-megtun		÷gmegtun

The aequalis case indicates similarity and can be translated by 'like' or 'as'.

Qimugtetun ner'uq. 'He is eating like a dog.'

Kass'aq Yup'igtun yurartuq. 'The white man is dancing like an Eskimo.'

Mikelnguq aatamitun ayuquq. 'The child resembles his father.'

With language behavior the aequalis case is customarily used.

> Qulirait mumigtellrui Kass'atun. 'He translated their stories into English.'
>
> Yugtun-qaa qaneryugngauten? 'Can you speak Eskimo?'
>
> Camek atengqerta tauna Yugcetun? 'What's the name of that in Eskimo?'

The words, 'Yugtun, Yugcetun, Yup'igtun, Yup'igcetun, Yupiatun, Yupiacetun' are customarily used for the Yup'ik Eskimo language.

Drill: Put the endings '+kun', '+tgun', '+gnegun', '+tun', '+cetun', '+gtun' on the following words and translate: a) yuk b) qanikcaq c) qayaq d) uluaq e) tekeq f) igta g) angun h) ena i) tuntuvak

17.3 '+ta-' (V) means 'to V or be V to a certain degree' and is often used along with a noun in the aequalis case. This postbase can only be used with verb bases denoting a quality.

> Sugtutaunga anngamtun. 'I'm as tall as my older brother.'
>
> Angyaqa angtauq angyarpetun. 'My boat is as big as your boat.'
>
> Qaillun taktaa? 'How long is it?'

This postbase can be used twice in a row on the same base for emphasis.

> Angtatauq. 'It's that big.'

Sometimes this postbase is used together with the postbase '$@_3$:(u)ciq' (Chap. 16.7):

> angtacia 'its size, how big it is'
>
> Aptaanga qaillun angyaqa taktacianek. 'He asked me how long my boat is.'

17.4 The aequalis is the last of the noun cases. Some uses of the locative, terminalis, ablative-modalis, vialis and aequalis have been given in Chapters 15, 16, and 17. More uses will be given later. In general, these five cases serve much the same function in Yup'ik that the prepositions (such as 'in', 'to', 'about', 'with') do in English. The range of prepositional uses of these cases is greatly expanded in Yup'ik by the use of positional bases: 'aci', 'tunge≠', 'qule≠', 'qai', 'pai', 'ciu', 'kingu', 'ilu', 'cani≠', and others. These words almost always occur with a possessed ending. Some examples of their use to expand the range of meaning of the terminalis case are given below.

Ellia egan yaassiigem qainganun. 'He put the pot on (the surface of) the box.'

Ellia egan yaassiigem iluanun. 'He put the pot inside the box.'

Ellia egan yaassiigem canianun. 'He put the pot beside the box.' (lit.: 'into the box's side area')

Ellia egan yaassiigem acianun. 'He put the pot under the box.'

Ellia egan yaassiigem quliinun. 'He put the pot above the box.'

17.5 '+cuun / +ssuun' (V) means 'device for V-ing' or 'instrument for V-ing'. The 'c' variant is generally used with consonant ending stems, and the 'ss' variant with vowel ending stems.

igarcuun or alngarcuun 'pencil' (lit: 'device for writing')

calissuun 'tool' (lit: 'device for working')

tengssuun 'airplane' (lit: 'device for taking off in flight', from 'tengêssuun' with hatted 'e' being suppressed)

17.6 '+cur-/ +ssur-' (N) means 'to hunt for N', usually used with game, fish, and fowl.

Nayircurtuq. 'He is hunting seals.'

Pissurtuq. 'He is hunting.' (from the empty base 'pi')

Cassurcit? 'What are you seeking?' (from the empty base 'ca')

Neqsurtuq. 'He is fishing.' (the 'e' on the base is suppressed, being hatted, and the 'ss' is undoubled being next to the stop 'q')

Many speakers from Nelson Island use only '+ssuun' and '+ssur-'. Thus, these speakers will say 'igarrsuun' and 'nayirrsurtuq' rather than 'igarcuun' and 'nayircurtuq'.

17.7 '-ngnaqe-' (V) means 'to try to V'.

Elitengnaqaqa. 'I'm trying to learn it.'

Assingnaquq. 'He's trying to be good.'

17.8 '+̃yaaqe-' (V) means 'to V without the desired result' or 'to V in vain.'

Iteryaaqellruuq. 'He entered in vain, without accomplishing what he intended.'

Tangerrsugyaaqellruaqa. 'I had wanted to see him.'

Tuntuvagcungnaqsaaquq. 'He tried unsuccessfully to hunt moose.'

Alingyaaqellruuq. 'He was afraid (but there was nothing to fear).'

The combination of the postbase '+̃yug-' and this one gives '+̃yugyaaqe-' which occurs quite often and can be translated by 'would like to V'.

Elicugyaaqua mingqenermek. 'I would like to learn how to sew.'

Exercises

A. Translate into English:

1. Mikelnguum itrutengnaqaa yaassiigpak maurlumi eniin amiigakun.
2. Avelngaq an'uq ukinerkun. 3. Pissurtet ayallruut nunapigmun ikamramegteggun.
4. Nuliama neqliuraakut keniramek luuskaakun. 5. Kaugturaa egatem patua
mulut'uugkun. 6. Egturyat keggellruatnga qaimkun. 7. Angyakun yuarciqaqa
nutek tamalqa. 8. Tuqutellruaqa maqaruaq muragkun. 9. Ciin culurtellrunriciu
angyan angyama canianun? 10. Anngamitun-qaa ayuquq? 11. Qaillun atengqerta
sewing-machine-aq Yugcetun? 12. Nutegkun tuqutellruak asverek. 13. Aanama
tuyullruanga neqerrlugnek angamkun. 14. Maurluma payugtaanga akutamek qantakun.
15. Naliat kass'at Yup'igtun qaneryugngaa? 16. Nuliaqa ingqillruuq kemegmek
ulualiamkun. 17. Yugcetun carayiit nangercugngaut. 18. Ciin kepellrusiu
qimugtevet pamyua nuussirpegun? 19. Cakun maavet tekicit? 20. Taum angutem
qetunraa uqilatauq qimugtetun. 21. Kass'aq Mamterillermiu elitengnaquq
Yugtun qaneryaramek. 22. Kenircuutelingnaqsaaqellruukut. 23. Qaillun
elitellrusit Yugtun yuranermek? 24. Yuut ayallruut Kusquqvagmek Kuigpagmun
nanvarpagteggun kuicuarteggun-llu. 25. Ciin Kass'at ner'at akutamek
luuskaatgun? 26. Nutgen ayuquq nutaratun. 27. Ikayungnaqsaaqaqa.

B. Translate into Yup'ik and grammatically analyze each Yup'ik sentence.

1. With a pot the man struck the dog that bit him. 2. The box has a
hole in its bottom. 3. The dog ran through the area beside the boat.
4. They went through your$_{pl.}$ lands. 5. My grandfather told me how big
his former kayak was. 6. The man is able to make sleds like your father.
7. He tried to land his boat on the shore through the waves. 8. The
nukalpiaqs are no longer able to hunt like our ancestors. 9. I can write
English, but I can't write Eskimo. 10. My hair is as long as your hair.

11. He put his winter gear beside the house. 12. He's sewing like his wife does. 13. I hurt my index finger with a hammer. 14. The priest usually comes to our village by airplane. 15. The dog licked him on his face. 16. The child crawled through the window. 17. The ones who left did not want to go through the Indians' land. 18. He bent the parts of the sled with his own tools. 19. There are lids beside them. 20. I don't know if he can make uluaqs like his uncle can. 21. The Kuskokwim River here is as wide as the Yukon River at your village. 22. I had wanted to see the northern lights. 23. He divided it through its middle. 24. I lost my hammar in the snow. 25. It is a snow shovel (device for working with snow).

Chapter XVIII. Numerals

Vocabulary

abs. noun	base	
atauciq	atauci-	'one thing'
malruk	malru-	'two things'
pingayun	pingayu-	'three things'
cetaman	cetama-	'four things'
talliman	tallima-	'five things'
arvinelgen	arvinlg-	'six things' (alternate: 'arvinlegen')
malrunelgen	malrunlg-	'seven things' (or 'malrunlegen')
pingayunelgen	pingayunlg-	'eight things' (or 'pingayunlegen')
qulngunrita'ar	qulngunritar(ar*)-	'nine things' (or 'qulngunritaraan')
qulen	qule-	'ten things'
akimiarunrita'ar	. . .	'fourteen things' (or 'akimiarunritaraan')
akimiaq	. . .	'fifteen things'
yuinaunrita'ar	. . .	'nineteen things' (or 'yuinaunritaraan')
yuinaq	yuinar*-	'twenty things'
tiissicsaaq	. . .	'one thousand' (Russ.)
amlleret	amller-	'many things'
qavcin	qavcir-	'how many things?'
Agayuneq	Agayunr-	'Sunday'
Pekyun	Pekyute-	'Monday'
Aipirin	Aipirite-	'Tuesday'
Pingayirin	Pingayirite-	'Wednesday'
Cetamirin	Cetamirite-	'Thursday'
Tallimirin	Tallimirite-	'Friday'

(cont. on next page)

Maqineq	Maqinr-	'Saturday'

18.2 -r̲qu- expresses frequency

18.1 Yup'ik numerals are grammatically nouns. They behave much like 'ak'allaq' (old thing), and 'nutaraq' (new thing) which are nouns in Yup'ik but express concepts that are adjectival in English (see Chap. 9.4).

In the above vocabulary list the bases are given as well as the nominalized forms. The nominalized forms given, with the exception of 'atauciq' and 'malruk', are plural in number and are the same for the absolutive and relative cases. They are formed by adding the special ending '+n' to the stem, rather than the usual plural ending '+t'. Notice that the interrogative word 'qavcin' is formed the same way, but the plural noun 'amlleret' has the standard plural ending even though it acts much like a numerical word.

We shall defer discussion of the process for forming numerals higher than ten, and show now the ways in which numerical words occur in sentences.

In the following examples the numerical word stands in apposition to another noun and takes the same number and case ending.

> Talliman yungcaristet tekitellruut. 'Five doctors arrived.'
> (compare: Nutarat yungcaristet tekitellruut. 'New doctors arrived.')
>
> Tangellruunga cetamanek tuntuvagnek. 'I saw four moose.'
>
> Qavcin angutet agiirtat? 'How many men are approaching?'
>
> Amlleret qimugtet qilugtut. 'Many dogs are barking.'
>
> Ataucim angutem tangellruanga. 'One man saw me.'
>
> Malruk angutek tangellruagnga. 'Two men saw me.'
> (the relative dual is '+k' just like the absolutive dual, hence the ending on 'malruk')

Qemagtellrui aklut pingayunum yaassiignun. 'He packed the clothes into three boxes.'

In the next examples the numerical noun is in the abl.-mod. of specification.

Qavcinek qimugtengqercit? 'How many dogs do you have?'

Ataucimek qimugtengqertua. 'I have one dog.'

Malrugnek qimugtengqertua. 'I have two dogs.' (the numeral base here is actually 'malru-' expanded by the dual abl.-mod. ending '+gnek')

Pingayunek qimugtengqertua. 'I have three dogs.' (here the base is expanded by the plural abl.-mod. ending '+nek')

Amllernek qimugtengqertua. 'I have many dogs.'

Pingayunlegnek qimugtengqertua. 'I have eight dogs.' (the plural ending '+nek' retains the final consonant on the base of this and the numerical word in the preceding example)

Numerical nouns may be expanded by the verbalizing postbase ':̃(ng)u-' meaning 'to be'. It is here that we clearly see that the bases are not Class IV, even though the nominalized forms end in 'n'.

Qavciugat allanret? 'How many are the strangers?'

Cetamaugut. 'They are four.' (if the base ended in 'te' we'd get *'cetamatnguut', but no one says this)

When money is involved, the aequalis is used and 'dollars' goes unexpressed.

Atkuk kiputellrua qultun (qul'tun). 'He bought the parka for ten (dollars).'

18.2 '-r̲qu-' or '-rqu-' is a postbase used on numerical bases to incicate frequency. It is used with abl.-mod. case endings.

Qavcirqunek nutellrua? 'How many times did he shoot?'

Ataucirqumek nutellruuq. 'He shot once.' (sing. abl.-mod. ending 'mek')

Malrurqugnek nutellruuq. 'He shot twice.' (dual abl.-mod. ending 'gnek')

Pingayurqunek nutellruuq. 'He shot three times.' (pl. ending 'nek')

Amllerqunek nutellruuq. 'He shot many times.'

pingayunlegqunek or pingayunlerqunek 'eight times'

18.3 Forming the numerals higher than ten. Yup'ik uses a base twenty counting system, though this system contains elements of base five and base ten systems. The following list illustrates the method of forming numerals above ten.

11. qula atauciq 'ten and one' (here the predictable nominalization of the base 'qule-' is used)
12. qula malruk
13. qula pingayun
14. akimiarunrita'ar 'not quite fifteen' literally
15. akimiaq
16. akimiaq atauciq
17. akimiaq malruk
18. akimiaq pingayun
19. yuinaunrita'ar 'not quite twenty'
20. yuinaq this word is the basic unit for counting higher numbers
21. yuinaq atauciq 'twenty (plus) one'
22. yuinaq malruk

. . . .

30. yuinaq qulen

. . . .

40. yuinaak malruk 'two twenties' (some Yukon people say 'malruk ipiaq')
41. yuinaak malruk atauciq (or 'malruk ipiaq atauciq')

. . . .

50. yuinaak malruk qulen (or 'malruk ipiaq qulen')

. . . .

60. yuinaat pingayun 'three twenties' (or 'pingayun ipiaq')

. . . .

1000. tiissicsaaq (Russian loan word)

The forms given above are actually simplified, or modernized forms of the higher numerals. The more traditional forms use the word 'cipluku' which is the subordinative form of the verb base 'cipete-' meaning 'to remain' or 'to be left over'. The subordinative mood will be explained in Chapters 22 and 23. Thus the formal form for 'eleven' is 'qula ataucimek cipluku' rather than 'qula atauciq' given on the preceding page. To take another example, the formal form of 'fifty-three' would be 'yuinaak malruk qulnek cipluku cali pingayunek cipluku'.

Drill: Translate:
a) yuinaq qulnek cipluku b) yuinaat pingayun qulnek cipluku cali pingayunlegnek cipluku c) yuinaat talliman malrunlegnek cipluku d) yuinaat malruk qulngunrita'arnek cipluku e) 74 f) 89 g) 39 h) 173

18.4 Ordinal Numerals. The numerals discussed in the previous sections are cardinal numerals, "one", "two", "three", etc., used for counting. Ordinal numerals, "first", "second", "third", etc., are used for enumerating. Except for the first two, Yup'ik ordinals are formed from cardinals with possessed endings added.

ciuqliit 'their first'

aipaat 'their second'

pingayuat 'their third'

cetamiit 'their fourth'

tallimiit 'their fifth'

arvinlegat or arvinelgat 'their sixth'

etc.

Angutet pingayuat aatakaqa. 'The third man is my father.'

18.5 Days of the Week. The present names for the days of the week are products of the period following contact with white men. The word for Sunday, 'Agayuneq', means 'praying', and the word for Saturday, 'Maqineq,' means 'bathing'. The word for 'Monday', 'Pekyun', comes from the verb base 'pekete-' (to move) and a postbase, '$@_3$:(u)n' meaning 'device for V-ing'; perhaps this word was chosen because Monday starts the week moving, or because Monday is when work and motion resume after the weekend. 'Aipirin', the word for Tuesday, is from 'aipaq' because Tuesday adds a second to Monday. The other names of days, 'Pingayirin', 'Cetamirin', and 'Tallimirin' are from numerical bases. These names of the days end in 'n' and they are in class IV, unlike the number words. That their bases end in 'te' can be seen from the following examples.

Pingayiritnguuq. 'It is Wednesday.'

Pekyutmi tangerciqamken. 'I shall see you on Monday.'

18.6 Telling Time. In some areas time is told using the verb base 'kaug-' (to strike) with a numerical word in the terminalis case.

Qavcinun kaugta? 'To what has it (the clock) struck?'

Ataucimun kaugtuq. 'It is one o'clock.'

Pingayunun kaugtuq. 'It's three o'clock.'

In other areas the same formula is used but with the numerical word in the abl.-mod. case. Others use such formulas as 'qavcinun ellirta?' (to what number has it reached?), 'qavcirta?' (how many is it?), 'qavciklaagta?' or 'caklaagta?' (from 'clock'), or even 'what-time-arta?'.

Exercises

A. 1. Tangellruunga pingayunlegnek tuntuvagnek kuigem akiani. 2. Pingayun
maqaruat nutellrui penguni. 3. Qavcirqunek uigtuallruceci kumlanernek?
4. Kiputellruagka ukuk malruk nutarak egatek tallimatun. 5. Agayulirta
calingaituq Agayunermi. 6. Kuimallruuq nanvam akianun malrurqugnek.
7. Angun tangluliciquq cetamanek. 8. Qavciugat alqaten? 9. Qulen
ikamrat agiirtut nunavci tungiinek. 10. Atauciq yaqulek mit'eqatartuq
ellivigmun. 11. Kia ek'aki arvinlegen luuskaat qantat iluitnun?
12. Ciin malruk mulut'uugek estuulum acianetak? 13. Qavcinek qiingqercit?
14. Nerciqut ayallerpet kinguani. 15. Nalluaqa qaillun allanret tekitellruciat
maavet. 16. Kia payugtellruaki tegganret pingayunek maqaruanek?
17. Angyangqertukuk malrugnek. 18. Cami qalarutellruaki pingayun angalkut?
19. Tangerciqamceci Pekyutmi. 20. Qavcitun tauna akingqerta?
21. Sugtutaunga arvinlegnek it'ganernek.

B. 1. On Saturday I read your book twice. 2. The man made four kayaks.
3. This pot has four holes. 4. Five large birds flew off above the house.
5. The lad visited his grandmother three times. 6. I killed the six
squirrels with my rifle. 7. The fifteen sinkers fell off the table.
8. My mother plucked the nine geese which I killed. 9. How many times
did you hit the dog that bit you? 10. The five Indians came down from
the mountains towards here. 11. My dogs ate seventeen fish. 12. He shot
the moose many times.

C. The arabic numeral system does not work very well with Eskimo numerals since arabic numerals are geared to a base ten system whereas Eskimo has a base twenty system. The roman numeral system does work with a few modifications. See if you can get the pattern from the list below.

I	atauciq
II	malruk
III	pingayun
IIII	cetaman
V	talliman
VI	arvinlegen
VII	malrunlegen
VIII	pingayunlegen
IX	qulngunrita'ar
X	qulen
XI	qula atauciq
XII	qula malruk
XIII	qula pingayun
IA	akimiarunrita'ar
A	akimiaq
AI	akimiaq atauciq
AII	akimiaq malruk
AIII	akimiaq pingayun
IY	yuinaunrita'ar
Y	yuinaq

Thus YYYAI would be 'yuinaat pingayun akimiaq atauciq' and YYVI would be 'yuinaak malruk arvinlegen'. You should be able to figure these out without translating anything into English.

Now, write down the Yup'ik for the following: a) YYYYYAIII b) YXIX c) YYYYYIA

Write down the modified roman numerals for the following:

a) yuinaat pingayunlegen akimiarnek cipluku cali malrugnek cipluku

b) yuinaat arvinlegen qulngunrita'arnek cipluku

c) yuinaq qulnek cipluku cali ataucimek cipluku

Chapter XIX. Optative Verbs with 1st and 3rd Person Subjects

Vocabulary

acsalugpiaq	'salmonberry, cloudberry' ('acsarpiaq' [Y], 'naunraq' [Nelson Island], 'aqevyik' [Hooper Bay - Chevak])
at'e-	'to dress, put on clothes'
curaq / suraq	'blueberry'
ermig-	'to wash one's face'
iqvar-	'to pick berries' ('unatar-' [some parts of Y])
kaminiaq	'stove' (Russian loan word) (also 'pelit'aaq' [Russ.])
kavircete-°	'to be red'
kavirliq	'red thing, low-bush cranberry'
kelipaq	'bread' (Russian loan word) (also 'qaq'uq')
kenurraq	'light, lamp'
kayangu(q)	'egg (bird's)' (also 'manik' and 'peksuq')
matarte-	'to undress, remove one's coat, unharness a dog'
nange-	'to be consumed, gone'
negaq	'snare'
niicugni-	'to listen'
perrir-	'to wipe'
puckaq	'barrel' (Russian loan word) (also 'pucunaq' [Russ.])
qaltaq	'bucket, pail'
saayuq / caayuq	'tea' (Russian loan word)
saskaq / caskaq	'cup' (Russian loan word) (also 'mer'un')
tupag-	'to wake up' ('tupagte-', transitive)
taryuq	'salt'
yaaruin	'story knife'

19.2 $@_4\tilde{-}\underline{k}$i- (V)	future for optative
19.3 =tuq	expresses wish that a situation occur
19.4 +te- (N)	'to capture N (game animals), to go to N (places)'
19.5 $@+'\genfrac{}{}{0pt}{}{(g)}{(t)}$ur(ar)- (V)	'to keep on V-ing'
19.6 +tur- (N)	'to eat N'
19.7 $\tilde{-}$yuite-° (V)	'to never V'

19.1 The third independent verb mood, after the indicative and interrogative, is the optative. The optative mood conveys the speaker's wish that an action take place, or that a certain state of affairs might exist. In optative with a second person subject (Chap. 20) this wish becomes a request or command. With a first person dual or plural subject, optative is translated by "let's V" (e.g., "let's eat"). Otherwise 1st and 3rd person optative is best translated by the words "let" or "may" used in the somewhat archaic sense that they are used in prayers, for example, "let him go in peace" or "may I find peace."[1]

The chart on the following page shows optative endings for 1st and 3rd person subjects.

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[1] Neither translation by "let" nor by "may" is particularly suitable because in normal English speech we don't interpet these two words in the archaic sense mentioned above. When someone is asked to translate "May he swim", for example, he is apt to give something like "Kuimallerkaa-qaa canrituq?" which literally means "Is it all right for him to swim?". And if one is asked to translate "Let him swim", he is apt to give "Kuimarcessgu " which literally means "Allow him to swim" . Neither of these Yup'ik translations is what we want which is "Kuimarli", and for this there is really no adequate English version. The best we can do is give either "May he swim" or "Let him swim" and hope that the reader will interpret "may" or "let" in their somewhat unusual archaic senses that correspond to the Yup'ik optative.

OPTATIVE ENDINGS

Transitive

OBJECT

				3rd person			1st person			2nd person		
				s	p	d	s	p	d	s	p	d
S U B J.	3rd	s	@+̃li	u	ki	kek	a	kut	kuk	ten	ci	tek
		p		tgu	tki	tkek	tnga	tkut	tkuk	tgen	ceci	cetek
		d		gnegu	gneki	gnekek	gtegnga	gtekut	gtekuk	gten	gci	gtek
	1st	s	@+̃la	ku	ki	kek				ken/mken[1]	mci	mtek
		p		rput/ut	put	gput				mteggen	mceci	mcetek
		d		rpuk/uk	puk	gpuk				megten	megci	megtek

Intransitive

S U B J.	3rd	s	@+̃li
		p	@+̃lit
		d	@+̃lik
	1st	s	@+̃lii
		p	+lta/-lta
		d	@+̃luk

When these optative endings (except 1st person plural intrans., '+lta' or '-lta') are added to Class IV bases, the 'e' is dropped and 'tl ⟶ ll'. For example: 'inarte-' and '@+̃lii' give 'inartlii', which becomes 'inarllii' and then becomes 'inarrlii' (let me lie down) (see 2.10).

There is a great deal of variation for 2d subj. transitive endings. For example for the 2d-1s, in addition to 'gtegnga' shown on the chart, there are 'n'nga', 'gnga', and 'gnenga', all of which are possible forms of this ending.

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[1] '$@_1$∓naumken' or '$@_1$∓naamken' may be used in place of '@+̃lamken'.

Examples:

Class	Base	3s	1p
I	cali-	calili 'may he work'	calilta 'let's work'
II	pai-	paili 'may he stay'	pailta 'let's stay behind'
III	nere-	nerli 'may he eat'	nerelta 'let's eat'
	taqe-	taqli 'may he quit'	taqelta 'let's quit'
IV	elite-	elilli 'may he learn'	elitelta 'let's learn'
VI	atur-	aturli 'may he sing'	atuulta or atulta 'let's sing'
	ayag-	ayagli 'may he go'	ayiilta or ayalta 'let's go'
	qayaliur-	qayaliurli 'may he work on the kayak'	qayaliurelta or qayaliulta 'let's work on the kayak'
	itr-	iterli 'may he go in'	itrelta or itelta 'let's go in'

Notice that with consonant ending verb bases the 1p intransitive optative ending can take two forms. For some speakers it is a half retaining type ending, while for others it is a dropping type ending. Recall also that all 'r's which end verb bases are strong. Thus, 'atuulta' is from 'aturelta', and 'ayiilta' is from 'ayagelta'.

Sample sentences:

Maligglamken or maligglaken. 'May I go with you.'

Iqvarluk maani. 'Let's$_2$ pick berries here.'

Nerluk acsalugpianek. 'Let's$_2$ eat some cloudberries.'

Nerenrillauk or nerenrillarpuk. 'Let's$_2$ not eat it.'

Ilavci ikayurlia. 'Would one of you help me.'

Aturlaku angyan. 'May I use your boat.' or 'Let me use your boat.'

Drill: Translate into Yup'ik: a) Let's Eskimo dance. b) Let's visit her. c) May I drink water. d) May I see it. e) May he go home (return). f) May I go home. g) Let (may) the children help us. h) Let's eat the akutaq. i) May I fetch it. j) May I turn off the light. k) Let's not stay.

19.2 The future for the optative is expressed using the postbase '$@_4\tilde{-}\underline{k}i$-' rather than '+ciqe-'. This is a type 4 'te' affecting suffix (see Chap. 2.7). It changes 't' to 's' on bases in Class IVa and IVb, and changes 't' to 'l' on bases in Class IVc. It is also an assimilating suffix.

The future negative for 1st and 3rd person optative is '-nrilki-', which is a combination of '-nrite-°' and '$@_4\tilde{-}\underline{k}i$-'.

Tuyuqilamken neqerrlugnek. 'May I send you some dryfish.'

Perriqilaki qantat atata. 'May I wipe the dishes later.' (the future optative postbase takes the form '-qi-' here because the base ends in 'r')

Ceńireskilaput unuaqu. 'Let's visit them tomorrow.' ('t' on the stem changes to 's', and this 's' is voiceless since it is next to the stop 'k')

Taqkilaku yaaliaku. 'May I finish it the day after tomorrow.'

Unuaqu ayanrilkilta. 'Let's not leave tomorrow.' ('t' on the base changes to 'l' since the base is in Class IVc)

Note that this postbase always comes right before the optative ending.

Verbs in the future optative may be used in a past context to make statements, especially in stories.

Tauna tan'gaurluq alingengkili. 'That boy started to be scared.'

19.3 The enclitic '=tuq' is used with the optative to express the wish or hope on the part of the speaker. '=kin' is used instead in some areas.

Nerlaput-tuq. (or Nerlapustuq.) 'I wish we could eat them.'

Tangerrlaki-tuq. 'Would that I could see them.'

Maanlli-tuq. 'I wish he were here.' (from 'maani' and the archaic base 'ete-' which give 'maante-' 'to be here')

19.4 '+te-' (N) is a postbase used on bases denoting game animals meaning 'to capture N', and on bases denoting places meaning 'to go to N.'

Tuntuvagtuq. 'He captures a moose.'

Pituq tuntunek. 'He captures some caribou.'

Kipusvigtuq. 'He goes to the store.'

Ingrirtelta. 'Let's go to the mountain.'

19.5 '@+'$\substack{(g)\\(t)}$ur(ar)-' (V) means 'to keep on V-ing'.

This postbase is added to bases in several different ways depending on the class of the base. It is added directly to Class I and III bases, while with Class II bases, '(g)' is used to prevent a three-vowel cluster. With Class IV bases, the 'te' is replaced with 'q', while with consonant ending bases '(t)' is used.

This is an 'ar'-deleting suffix (see Chap. 2.12). The full form, 'urar', is used except when this postbase is followed by an adding suffix starting with a consonant, in which case '(ar)' is deleted.

Class	Base	with this postbase	
I	cali-	caliurtuq 'he keeps working' ('(ar)' deleted)	
II	qia-	qiagu'rtuq 'he keeps crying'	(see explanation of apostrophes below)
III	atkunge-	atkungu'urtuq 'he keeps getting parkas'	
IV	ceńirte-	ceńirqu'rtuq 'he keeps visiting'	
VI	atur-	aturturaraa 'he keeps using it' ('(ar)' not deleted)	
	mer-	merturallruuq 'he kept drinking' ('(ar)' not deleted)	

Explanation regarding 'qiagu'rtuq' and 'ceńirqu'rtuq'

The '(ar)' which has been deleted from 'qiagur(ar)tuq' and 'ceńirqur(ar)tuq' was subject to stress (see Chap. 1.17) and this stress is transferred to the preceding syllable when the '(ar)' is deleted. We show this by placing an apostrophe between the 'u' and the 'r' in these words (see Chap. 2.14).

Explanation regarding 'atkungu'urtuq'

When 'atkungûr(ar)tuq' gives 'atkungûrtuq' by deleting '(ar)', the preceding 'u' retains its length as shown by the hat, only after deleting '(ar)' this 'u' is no longer the vowel of the second of two open syllables, hence the length is indicated by doubling 'u' and putting an apostrophe between them to indicate that 'ng' is not to be geminated (see Chap. 2.12).

Drill: Attach the postbase '@+'$\genfrac{}{}{0pt}{}{(g)}{(t)}$ur(ar)-' to the following bases, provide a transitive ending and translate, and then provide an intransitive ending and translate: a) kuve- b) qayali- c) tangrr- d) elite- e) elag- f) mer- g) neryug- h) nerenrite- i) taringe- j) tuntute- (intrans. only)

19.6 '+tur-' (N) means 'to eat N'. It often comes out looking like the preceding postbase.

Keliparturtuq. 'He's eating bread.'

Akutarturyugtua. 'I want to eat akutaq.'

Kayangurturtu'rtuq. 'He keeps on eating eggs.'

19.7 '$\overset{\sim}{-}$yuite-°' (V) means 'to never V'. Unlike the other eliding postbases starting with 'y' which we have seen, this is a dropping suffix.

Kuingiyuitua. 'I never smoke.'

Elicuituq. 'He never learns.'

Nutyuituq. 'He never shoots.' (When '$\overset{\sim}{-}$yuite-' is attached to the base 'nutg-' the dropped 'g' is replaced by 'e' giving 'nutêyuite-', and the hatted 'e' is suppressed, but 'y' is not subsequently changed to 's' even though it now follows 't'.)

Exercises:

A. 1. Tangerqilapuk-tuq. 2. Aturlaku-qaa atkuun? 3. Iterluk anngama eniinun. 4. Niicugnilta apa'urlumta qulirainek. 5. Tan'gaurluum nipliu kaminiaq. 6. Ut'rulliki-tuq yaqulget nutellrenka. 7. Kuimaqilta nanvacuarmi. 8. Ciin nayagan kelipartunrita? 9. Ceńireskilamken yaaliaku. 10. Muirlauk yaassiigpak neqerrlugnek. 11. Ciin qusertu'rcit? 12. Elitengnaqurallruuq Yugtun. 13. Ner'u'rtuq akutamek.

B. 1. May your son put on my boots. 2. Let me help you. 3. Let's$_2$ eat eggs. 4. Let me put the bread here. 5. May we listen to you. 6. Would one of you wake up your father. 7. Would some of you help the elders. 8. May my son wipe his hands on your towel. 9. Why is the coffee gone? 10. Let me turn off the light. 11. Let me put the dried fish in the barrel. 12. Let me use your red parka. 13. Where did you put her story knife? 14. Let's all pick berries tomorrow. 15. Let me send my older brother the boots you made. 16. Let me try the berries. 17. May your grandfather make you a kayak. 18. Let me cut your hair tomorrow. 19. Let's wash the children's faces. 20. May your mother make snares. 21. Let's take a steambath. 22. Let me go to bed. 23. Let's use our grandmother's stove this winter. 24. Let's quit. 25. Let's$_2$ hunt muskrats. 26. Let's$_2$ go home. 27. Let's$_2$ eat some bread. 28. Let's$_2$ drink coffee. 29. Let's eat some dryfish. 30. He keeps fiddling with the light. 31. Let's$_2$ go to the store. 32. He keeps capturing rabbits. 33. Let me go with you$_2$ to the school. 34. Let me visit you tomorrow. 35. Let's share food with them. 36. May I undress. 37. Who put the salt in the bucket? 39. Let me fill your cup with tea.

Chapter XX. Optative Verbs with 2nd Person Subjects

Vocabulary

agtur-	'to touch'
agyaq	'star'
akakiik	'whitefish' ('qaurtuq' [Y])
akerta	'sun'
ataki	'well then' (see 20.4)
caqu	'wrapping'
caqu-	'to wrap'
callmag-	'to patch'
callmak	'patch'
egte-	'to throw out'
ellalluk	'rain' (also 'cellalluk' [Y], and 'ivsuk')
emute-	'to seek medical aid, or take an item for repair'
kegglaq	'saw'
kegglar-	'to saw'
kegluneq	'wolf'
kitak	'okay, go ahead' (see 20.4)
kitugte-	'to fix, repair'
makete-	'to rise, arise'
paltuuk / pal'tuuk	'coat' (Russian loan word) ('ullirtaaq' [Bristol Bay])
patu-	'to cover, close'
piqertuutaq	'axe' (also 'qalqapak')
qerrulliik (dual)	'pair of pants' ('ulruk' [Bristol Bay])
saarralaq / caarralaq	'sugar' (Russian loan word)
terikaniaq	'wolverine' (also 'qavcik')
tertuli	'lynx'

20.2 ~+yaquna- (V)	future negative for 2nd person optative
20.3 -q̲ar- (V)	'briefly, merely', indicates politeness
20.5 --ir- (N)	'natural phenomenon is occurring; to set N'
20.6 :(ng)ir- (N)	'to be deprived of N, to deprive one of N'
20.7 :(ng)ir(ar)- (N)	'to have cold N's'.

20.1 The optative mood with a second person subject expresses a command or a request. The two most common of these endings, 2s intrans. and 2s-3s trans., are treated first due to their complexity. These two particular endings, unlike most others, cannot be described by a combination of symbols and letters. The endings are different for each class.

Class	2s intrans.	2s-3s trans.
I	Ø (after future postbase '$@_4$~k̲i-', use 'na')	+u
II & III	+(g)i	+(g)iu
IVa & IVb	+n	$@_4$gu (t ⟶ s)[1]
IVc	$@_4$u (t ⟶ l)[2]	$@_4$gu (t ⟶ l)
VI	:a	-g̲g̲u

Examples:

Class	Base	2s	2s-3s
I	angyali-	angyali 'make a boat'	angyaliu 'make him a boat'
	nerki-	nerkina 'eat' (future)	nerkiu 'eat it' (future)
II	kiu-	kiugi 'answer'	kiugiu 'answer him'
III	nere-	neri 'eat'	neriu 'eat it'
IVa	inarte-	inarten 'lie down'	inaresgu 'lay it down'
IVc	nerenrite-•	nerenrilu 'don't eat'	nerenrilgu 'don't eat it'
VI	igar-	igaa 'write'	igarru 'write to him'

---

[1] t ⟶ y in Hooper Bay - Chevak

[2] +n is used for Class IVc in Hooper Bay - Chevak as well as for Class IVa & IVb

(continued)

elag-	elii 'dig' (from èlaga')	elaggu 'dig it'
pair-	paira 'lick'	pairru 'lick it'
nutg-	nutga 'shoot'	nutgu 'shoot it'
mer-	mer'a 'drink'	merr'u 'drink it'

Drill: Give the 2s and 2s-3s optative forms for the following bases and translate them: a) ega- b) tegleg- c) tegu- d) amar- e) emute- f) kumarte- g) makete- h) kegge- i) pai- j) taringe- k) ceńirte- l) pinrite-

Translate: a) Nipesgu kenurraq. b) Qavaa. c) Tupii. d) Itra. e) Ani. f) Ayii. g) Apesgu. h) Emuten. i) Aturru. j) Kuviu.

Other 2nd person optative endings: These are shown on the chart on the following page.

2nd Person Subject Optative

OBJECT

Transitive:

2nd PERSON

		3rd person			1st person			
		s	p	d	s	p	d	
s	$@_4\tilde{+}$	*	ki	kek	nga	kut	kuk	
p	$@_5\tilde{+}$	ciu	ciki	cikek	cia	cikut	cikuk	
d		tegu	teki	tekek	tegnga	tegkut	tegkuk	

For * see explanation on the preceding page.

Intransitive:

SUBJ.

s		*
p	$@_5\tilde{+}$	ci
d		tek

Two comments should be made about these endings.

1) Class II and III bases take '(g)i' before adding any of these other 2nd person endings. This '(g)i' is optional for some speakers, but mandatory for others.

2) With stems expanded by the optative future postbase '$@_4\tilde{-}$ki-' or by the optional '(g)i' noted above, the 2s-1s ending is just 'a' rather than 'nga' as shown on the chart.

Notice that the singular subject endings on the chart are type 4 'te'-affecting (changing Class IVa and IVb 't' to 's', and Class IVc 't' to 'l'), but plural and dual subject endings drop 'te'.

Examples (with alternative forms in parentheses)

Class	Base	2s-3p ($@_4\tilde{+}$ki)	2s-1s ($@_4\tilde{+}$nga)	2p-3s ($@_5\tilde{+}$ciu)
I	utaqa-	utaqaki 'wait for them'	utaqanga 'wait for me'	utaqaciu '(you_{pl}) wait for him'
	cikiqi-	cikiqiki 'give them some'	cikiqia 'give me some'	cikiqiciu (you_{pl}) give him some'
II	kiu-	kiuki / kiugiki 'answer them'	kiunga / kiugia 'answer me'	kiuciu / kiugiciu '(you_{pl}) answer him'
III	nere-	nerki / neriki 'eat them'	nernga / neria 'eat me'	nerciu / nericiu '(you_{pl}) eat it'
IVa	qanrute-	qanruski 'tell them'	qanrusnga 'tell me'	qanruciu '(you_{pl}) tell him'
IVc	agtunrite-•	agtunrilki 'don't touch them'	agtunrilnga 'don't touch me'	agtunriciu '(you_{pl}) don't touch it'
VI	ikayur-	ikayurki 'help them'	ikayurnga 'help me'	ikayurciu '(you_{pl}) help him'
	neqliur-	neqliurki 'serve them'	neqliurnga 'serve me'	neqliurciu '(you_{pl}) serve him'
	nutg-	nutegki 'shoot them'	nutegnga 'shoot me'	nutegciu '(you_{pl}) shoot it'

Drill: Attach the 2s-1s ending '$@_4\tilde{+}$nga' and the 2p-3s ending '$@_5\tilde{+}$ciu' to the following bases and translate:
a) cikir- b) ikayuqi- c) emute- d) unitenrite-• e) uitate- f) pai- g) kegge- h) niicugni- i) maligte-

20.2 The combination postbase '-nrilki-' formed from '-nrite-' and the optative future '@$_4$$\tilde{-}$k̲i-' is used for the future negative for the optative with first and third person subject. However, it is not used for future negative for the optative with second person subject. Instead, the postbase '$\tilde{+}$yaquna-' is used, coming right before the optative ending, to express prohibitions.

Verb stems expanded by this postbase '$\tilde{+}$yaquna-' are in Class I but they have three irregularities in attaching optative endings. First, the 2s intransitive is 'yaqunak' rather than the expected 'yaquna'. For example:

Inarcaqunak. 'Don't lie down.' (compare: Inartenrilu. 'Don't lie down right now.', said to someone who is in the process of lying down)

Secondly, the 2s-3s form is 'yaqunaku' rather than 'yaqunau'. For example:

Agturyaqunaku. 'Don't touch it.' (compare: Agtunrilgu. 'Don't touch it right now.', said to someone who is on the verge of touching it)

Thirdly, the 2s-1s form is 'yaqunii' rather than 'yaqunanga'. For example:

Aliksaqunii. 'Don't be afraid of me.' (compare: Alikenrilnga 'Don't be afraid of me right now.')

20.3 The postbase '-q̲ar-' is used with the optative to emphasize that a request is being made rather than a command. This particular postbase has many applications outside the optative mood. It covers a range of meanings that are hard to capture in English. Often this postbase can be translated as "briefly", "merely" or "kindly".

This postbase often takes the form '-q̲er-' when it appears in situations that preserve the final 'r' on the postbase, and when 'q' does not change to 'k' (see Chap. 2.11, rule f)

Taiqaa.	'Please come.' (from 'taiqar-' plus ':a')
Apqerru.	'Please say it.' (from 'apr-' plus '-qar-' plus '-ggu')
Callmakarru.	'Please patch it.' (from 'callmag-' plus '-qar-' and '-ggu')

An example with an optative ending with a 3rd person subject is:

Qimugtema paiqerliki qantaten? 'May my dog lick your dishes?'

20.4 The two interjectional words, 'ataki' and 'kitak' are often used with the optative and may be translated as 'well then', or in combination with the preceding postbase, 'please':

Kitak cali apqerru.	'Please say it again.'
Ataki, ayaglit.	'Well then, let them go.'

20.5 The postbase '--ir-' (N) drops both the final consonant on a base and the vowel preceding it. This postbase is not used with Class VI, C^{r}_{g} bases. It is used with two groups of noun bases. With nouns denoting natural phenomena, it means that the natural phenomenon is occurring. With nouns denoting game capturing implements, it means that one sets the implement.

Examples with natural phenomena:

Ellallirtuq.	'It's raining.' (from 'ellalluk')
Agyirtuq.	'The stars are out.' (from 'agyaq')
Akercirtuq.	'The sun is shining.' (from 'akerta' with 'ti' changing to 'ci')
Qanirtuq.	'It's snowing.' (from 'qanuk', meaning 'snowflake')
Qiuryirtuq.	'The northern lights are out.' (from 'qiuryaq')
Egturyirtuq.	'There are mosquitoes.' (from 'egturyaq')

Examples with game capturing implements:

Negirtuq.	'He sets a snare.' (from 'negaq')
Kuvyirtuq.	'He sets a fishnet.' (from 'kuvyaq')
Taluyirtuq.	'He sets a fishtrap.' (from 'taluyaq')

The above postbase is very likely a contraction of the postbase '-lir-' (Chap. 9). In that chapter we saw how dropping postbases beginning with 'li' can drop the 'l' and the preceding vowel giving, for example, both 'angyalirtuq' and 'angyirtuq' for 'he has lots of boats'. The last example from the first group above, 'egturyirtuq', may be a shortened form of 'egturyalirtuq' (there are a lot of mosquitoes). The derivation of the forms in the second group (with game capturing implements) is less clear.

20.6 ':(ng)ir-' (N) means 'to have had one's N removed' when used with an instransitive ending, and 'to remove object's N' when used with a transitive ending.

Patuirtuq.	'It has had its cover removed.'
Amiiraa nayiq.	'He skins the seal.'
Iqairaa paltuuk.	'She washes the coat.' (lit: 'removes its dirt')
Iingirtuq.	'He is snowblind.' (lit: 'he has been deprived of his eyes')

Derived from this is a postbase '-nrir-' (V) meaning 'to no longer V'. The first part, '-nrɇ' is a nominalizing postbase: 'the act or state of V'.

Kainrirtua.	'I am no longer hungry.' (lit: 'I have had my state of hunger removed.')

compare:

Kainritua.	'I am not hungry.' (lit: 'I lack the state of hunger.' from 'kaig-', '-nrɇ' and ':(ng)ite-')

20.7 ':(ng)ir(ar)- (N) is used with words for body parts and means 'to have cold N's'.

It'gairtua or It'gairaraanga.	'My feet are cold.'
Ciutairtua or Ciutairaraanga.	'My ears are cold.'

The forms with transitive endings have "impersonal subjects" (see 16.11).

Exercises:

A. 1. Asgu tauna kavirliq qaspeq. 2. Maligesnga. 3. Neri akakiigmek. 4. Imirru puckaq mermek. 5. Elliu egan kaminiam qainganun. 6. Elliu tauna yaassiik ikamrarpenun. 7. Ikayurnga. 8. Imirru qantaqa akutamek. 9. Perrirki qantat. 10. Kagiu nateq. 11. Ceńireskiu apa'urluun. 12. Kitugesgu kaminiaq. 13.Emusgu irnian. 14. Amiirru tertuliq. 15. Patuirru tauna egaterpak. 16. It'gairtuten-qaa? 17. Cikuirru puckaq ellami. 18. Anusgu qimugta. 19. Itruski neqerrluut ellivigmun. 20. Apesgu qetunraa ut'rucianek. 21. Cikirnga akinek. 22. Tuyurru tan'gurraq neqerrlugnek. 23. Payugesgu akutamek apa'urluun qasgimi. 24. Callmagkek qerrulliigka. 25. Kuimaryaqunak nanvami. 26. Agtunrilgu kaminiaq. 27. Egesgu paltuugen ak'allaq. 28. Uitasgu. 29. Cingaryaqunii. 30. Quuyurnisnga. 31. Qulirisnga. 32. Quliritqernga. 33. Taiqaa. 34. Tuniu akakiik allanermun. 35. Paikiu mikelnguq. 36. Taiteqerru tauna. 37. Kiputeqaqina paltuugmek nutaramek. 38. Niicugniyaqunaku. 39. Taluyia. 40. Qalarusnga. 41. Aqvaqerru issratka angyamteńek. 42. Taisgu nuussiq. 43. Qianrilu. 44. Atrauteqerru kuvyacuarqa angyamnun. 45. Negiryaqunak taum acianun. 46. Nerqerru kelipaq. 47. Maani kuingiryaqunak. 48. Neryaqunaki ukut acsat. 49. Imiqerki saskat saarralamek. 50. Kuuvviali. 51. Ani. 52. Cali apqerru qanellren. 53. Paqeski negat. 54. Cali ceńireskina. 55. Kegglaqaa muragnek. 56. Qemagtenrilki akluten kavirlimun yaassiigmun. 57. Kuvyaqunaku ermigcuutem imaa natermun. 58.Eliteqerki elitnaurarpet atrit. 59. Nipesgu kenurraq. 60. Kuuvviara. 61. Ikayuqikek angayuqaagken. 62. Nipteqerru kuingin. 63. Atkuliqernga tertulinek. 64. Iqvaqaqina nunapigmi kuigem akiani. 65. Teguu igarcuun estuulumek. 66. Kumarteqerru naniq. 67. Aturyaqunaku una piqertuutaq. 68. Neryaqunak paluqtaam pamyuanek. 69. Tupageskia unuaqu 7-aklaagmi. 70. Aliksaqunaku qimugteka. 71. Utaqanga. 72. Unicaqunaki mikelnguut. 73. Itra. 74. Ingqiqaa maklagnek.

75. Nangerten. 76. Aqumi. 77. Paiki. 78. Paikiki. 79. Paili. 80. Pailiki.
81. Paikili. 82. Paikiliki.

B. 1. Bring those needles. 2. Please eat some akutaq. 3. Set your fishtraps
at the mouth of the little river. 4. Why, I wonder, is it raining?
5. Don't spill the coffee on your pants. 6. Would you please fill the lamp
with oil tomorrow. 7. Please take some dried meat to the strangers in your
uncle's house. 8. Please go to the school later on (pl. subj.). 9. Help the
elders. 10. Would you please skin these minks. (use 'amiir-') 11. Please
make me a story knife. 12. Take off your coats. (pl. subj.) 13. Listen to me.
14. Don't listen to those children. 15. Wash your face. 16. Please make me
a parka out of seal skin. 17. Try this food. (pl. subj.) 18. Ask my
grandfather. 19. Answer me. 20. Please put on the parka I made. 21. Bring
the backpack. 22. Please cut my hair (later). 23. Please skin those rabbits.
24. Take a steam bath. 25. Please sweep the floor. 26. Clean the bedding.
27. Believe me. 28. Swallow them. 29. Check the fishtrap (pl. subj.)
30. Get our boat ready. 31. Take the dog out of the house. 32. Bring the
backpack up to the mountain. 33. Take the water into the house. 34. Bring
the children down to the shore. 35.Tell your children a quliraq. 36. Don't
play with the gun. 37. Don't play outside. 38. Don't be afraid of the dogs.
(pl. subj.) 39. Don't sit down on the floor. 40. Don't eat those berries.
41. Don't talk to the shamans. 42. Leave it alone. 43. Don't leave your
grandfather behind. (pl. subj.) 44. Wait for us. 45. Stay with my children
tomorrow, please. 46. Come here. 47. Why aren't the stars out yet?
48. Don't leave (dual subj.). 49. Give me some bullets, please. 50. Wake up.
51. Get up. 52. Go to bed. 53. Sleep. 54. Eat. 55. Drink.

Chapter XXI. The Half-Transitive Postbase, and Compound-Verbal Postbases

Vocabulary

anglani-	'to have fun, to enjoy, to watch'	
angnir-	'to be happy' (also, 'nunanili-')	
cimir-	'to change or replace'	
erur-	'to wash (dishes, etc.)'	
kiarte-	'to scan one's surroundings'	
missuuk	'bag, sack' (Russian loan word)	
nalluyagute-	'to forget'	
nunate-	'to visit (place to place)'	
qucillgaq	'crane' (also 'qut'raaq')	
qugyuk	'swan'	
sap'akiq / cap'akiq	'shoe, boot (non-native style)' (Russian loan word)	
ulik	'blanket'	
ullag-	'to approach, go to' (trans. only)	
urug-	'to melt, to warm up'	
yuurqaq	'hot beverage' (yuurqertuq 'he drinks a hot beverage')	
21.1 +'(g)i- (V)	half-transitive postbase	
21.3 ÷sqe- (V)	'to ask or want'	Compound-verbal Postbases
21.4 +vkar- (V)	'to let, allow, or compel'	
21.5 $@_5$+cete- (V)	'to let, allow, or compel'	
21.6 $@_1\tilde{+}$ni- (V)	'to say or claim'	
21.7 $\tilde{+}$yuke- (V)	'to think or believe'	
21.8 $@_1\tilde{+}$nayuke- (V)	'to suppose'	
21.9 -nqigte- (V)	'to V again'	
21.10 -llini- (V)	V has happened without being directly observed	

21.3 In this chapter rather than introducing a new grammatical category, we introduce a number of important and rather complex postbases. The first is '+'(g)i-' (V) which is often called the *half-transitive* postbase. First we shall see how it attaches to bases, and then see how it functions.

Class	Base	With postbase '+'(g)i-' and an ending	
I	ini-	Iniiguq.	'He hangs something up to dry'
II	pai-	Paigiuq.	'He babysits, stays with someone or something.'
III	kuve-	Kuviuq.	'He spills something.' (from 'kuv'iuq' by 2.11 Rule g)
IV	mumigte-	Mumigciuq.	'He turns something over.' (by 2.11 Rule e)
VI	tamar-	Tamariuq.	'He loses something.'

In order to express a sentence that is transitive in meaning but has an indefinite object, an intransitive ending is used on the verb, and the object is put in the ablative-modalis case (see Chap. 16.3). For example,

Angun amartuq mikelngurmek. 'The man backpacks *a* child.'
vs. Angutem amaraa mikelnguq. 'The man backpacks *the* child.'

However, one cannot do the same with the base 'tamar-' (to lose). One cannot get,

*Angun tamartuq nutegmek.
from, Angutem tamaraa nutek. 'The man loses the gun.'

The sentence 'Angun tamartuq nutegmek.' doesn't make sense because 'tamartuq' means 'it (the subject) is lost', while what we want is a way of saying 'he (the subject) loses something'. The half transitive postbase, '+'(g)i-', gives us this.

Bases which may take either transitive or intransitive endings divide into two categories. *Agentive* bases have the same type of entity performing an action and this entity is the subject whether the verb has a transitive or intransitive ending. For example:

amar-	Amartuq.	'He backpacks.'	Amaraa.	'He backpacks it.'
nere-	Ner'uq.	'He eats.'	Neraa.	'He eats it.'
tangrr-	Tangertuq.	'He sees.'	Tangrraa.	'He sees it.'

Non-agentive bases, on the other hand, have the same kind of entity undergoing a process and this entity is the subject if the verb is intransitive but becomes the object when the verb is made transitive. For example:

tamar-	Tamartuq.	'It is lost.'	Tamaraa.	'He loses it.'
kuve-	Kuv'uq.	'It spills.'	Kuvaa.	'He spills it.'
atkuir-	Atkuirtuq.	'He becomes parka-less.'	Atkuiraa.	'She removes his parka.'

In order to use a non-agentive base to express a transitive idea with an indefinite object, we use the half-transitive postbase '+'(g)i-'[1]. Some examples with non-agentive bases:

Angun tamariuq nutegmek. 'The man loses a gun.'

Angun tamariuq nut'minek. 'The man loses a gun of his.'

This postbase can also be used with bases which otherwise could only take transitive endings. For example:

Ut'ruciuq qimugtemek. 'He brought home a dog.' (from 'ut'rute-')

Iniiguq aklunek. 'She is hanging some bedding.' (from 'ini-')

It can also be used with bases which generally take transitive endings but which have a "reflexive" meaning when used directly with an intransitive ending.

Mumigciuq. 'He turns something over.' (from 'mumigte-')

(compare 'Mumigtuq.' - 'It turns (itself) over.')

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[1] With the bases 'tegu-' (to take), and 'aqva-' (to fetch) a postbase '+te-' is used instead of '+'(g)i-'. Thus 'Tegutuq.' (He takes something.) and 'Aqvatuq.' (He fetches something.)

Drill: Translate: a) Angun tuqucillruuq pingayunek tuntunek. b) Kuv'iyaqunak mermek. c) Mumigciuq qayamek. e) Ikirci egalernek. f) Ciin itrucisit qimugtemek? g) Arnaq tamariuq uluarmek. h) Alqaqa paigiuq.

The half-transitive postbase can be used with agentive stems, and it can be followed by transitive endings, but the meaning changes somewhat and we shall not discuss these uses. However, here are two examples without further explanation.

Angun ayagiuq kaviarmek. 'The fox leaves to the man's disadvantage.'
(i.e. 'The fox escapes from the man.')

Qimugtem neria angun. 'The dog eats to the disadvantage of the man.'
(i.e. 'The dog eats the man's food.')

21.2 To aid in understanding the next six postbases which are called compound verbal postbases, we introduce a special term. The Topic of a verb is the subject of the verb if the verb is intransitive, and it is the object of the verb if the verb is transitive. Thus the Topic is always the noun which is in the absolutive case. For example:

Agentive:

Topic
Angun amartuq. 'The man backpacks.'
Subj.

Topic
Angutem amaraa mikelnguq. 'The man backpacks the child.'
Subj. Obj.

Non-agentive:

Topic
Nutek tamartuq. 'The gun is lost.'
Subj.

Topic
Angutem tamaraa nutek. 'The man loses the gun.'
Obj.

From these examples we see that the subject of an agentive verb is the same entity whether the verb is used intransitively or transitively to describe a given situation, while for a non-agentive verb the Topic is the same entity whether the verb is used intransitively or transitively.

21.3 '⨥sqe-' (V) is a compound-verbal postbase meaning 'to want' or 'to ask'. Before examining the use of this postbase in detail, we shall see how it fits onto verb bases. This is a half-retaining suffix (see 2.4.6). Recall that verb bases such as 'yurar-' which end in a single prime vowel followed by 'g' or 'r' are in Class VI (see 2.3) and this means that the vowel will lengthen when a half-retaining suffix is added. (Compare the effect of adding '⨥nka' to the Class VI noun base 'tan'gurrar*-'; one gets 'tan'gurraanka')

Class	Base	With '⨥sqe-' and a transitive ending	
I	cali-	Calisqaa.	'He asks her to work.'
II	pai-	Paisqaa.	'He asks her to stay behind at home.'
III	nere-	Neresqaa.	'She asks him to eat.'
IV	inarte-	Inartesqaa.	'He asks him to lie down.'
VI	yurar-	Yuraasqaa.	'He asks her to Eskimo dance.'
	ayag-	Ayaasqaa.	'She asks him to leave.' (contrary to expectation, bases that end in '-ag-' do not go to 'ii' with this postbase)
	eqiur-	Eqiuresqaa.	'He asks him to chop wood.'
	qanr-	Qanresqaa.	'He asks her to speak.'

Some speakers treat this simply as a consonant dropping postbase saying 'yurasqaa', 'ayasqaa', 'eqiusqaa', and 'qanesqaa' rather than 'yuraasqaa', 'ayaasqaa', 'eqiuresqaa', or 'qanresqaa'.

If this postbase is used with a transitive ending, then it actually means 'subject asks or wants object to be the Topic for the embedded verb'.[1] By *embedded verb* is meant the verb base to which the postbase '⨥sqe-' is added, and this embedded verb may be regarded as being either intransitive or transitive unless some other factor compels us to regard it in only one of these two ways.

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[1] With an intransitive ending the meaning is 'subject asks or wants himself to be the Topic of the embedded verb'.

Angutem neresqaa tan'gurraq. 'The man wants the boy to eat.'

(the embedded verb 'nere-' is regarded as being intransitive, so its Topic is its subject, the one that eats)

Angutem neresqaa kemek. 'The man wants someone to eat the meat.'

(here the embedded verb 'nere-' is regarded as being transitive, so its Topic is its object, the thing that is eaten)

These two sentences have exactly the same grammatical form and we must rely on common sense not to translate the first as 'The man wants someone to eat the boy' nor the second as 'The man wants the meat to eat.' Although these sentences are ambiguous, the meaning can usually be determined by context or common sense, and the ambiguity will be eliminated if an indefinite object is used in the abl.-mod. case forcing us to regard the underlying verb as intransitive:

Angutem neresqaa tan'gurraq akutamek. 'The man wants the boy to eat some akutaq.'

It can also be resolved by introducing a noun in the terminalis case which will act as the subject of the embedded verb, thus forcing us to regard the embedded verb as being transitive. This is a special use of the terminalis case with compound-verbal postbases.[1]

Angutem neresqaa kemek neviarcamun. 'The man wants the girl to eat the meat.' ('kemek' is the Topic, that is the object of the embedded transitive verb 'nere-', and 'neviarcamun' is the subject of the embedded verb)

With this one compound-verbal postbase, though not with the others, if an intransitive ending is used, then the embedded verb must be regarded as being transitive.

Angun ikayuusquq. 'The man wants someone to help him.'

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[1] See Chap. 16.7 for a similar use of the terminalis case in conjunction with the postbase '$@_3$:(u)ciq', and also see the Addendum on page 322.

Mikelnguq paisquq alqaminun. 'The child wants his older sister to babysit him.'

Drill: a) Aanama atkuka mingqesqaa. b) Yungcaristemun tangrresqaqa irniaqa. c) Angutet kuuvviaresqellruanka. d) Elitnauristem elitnaurani ellami aquisqai. e) Alqama calisqellruanga maani. f) Panima aipaa emutesqaa.

a) He does not want his younger sister to lie to his grandfather. b) He wants her to be the wife of his younger sibling. c) She asked that he build a new boat. d) He asked his grandmother to light the stove. e) My father wants my husband to hunt tomorrow. f) My father wanted you to bring over the letters. g) My mother wants you to take your dog out of our house. h) The priest wants the people to help him.

21.4 '+vkar-' (V) 'subject lets, allows, or compels object to be the Topic for V'. This postbase can only be used with bases that end in vowels; the next postbase is used with consonant ending bases. This postbase and the next one take only transitive endings. There is no distinction between 'allowing' and 'compelling'.

Arnam irniaminun neqerrluut nerevkarai. 'The woman lets her child eat the dryfish.'

Nerevkarru mikelnguq neqerrlugnek. 'Let the child eat some dryfish.'

21.5 '$@_5$+cete-' (V) has the same meaning as the above postbase, but this postbase is used with bases that end in 'te' or a consonant.

Igcecaqunaku. 'Don't let it fall.' ('igte-' plus '$@_5$+cete-' which drops 'te' from 'igte-', plus '∓yaquna-' which combines with the 'te' of 'cete' to give 'c')

Anucetaa qimugta. 'He lets the dog be taken outside.' (here the embedded verb 'anute-' has 'qimugta' as its Topic, the thing which is taken out)

Ayagcessgu. 'Allow him to go.' or 'Compel him to go.' ('ayagcete-' plus '$@_4$gu' cause 't' to become voiceless 'ss' because of the voiceless 'ce' preceding it)

Akertem kinercetai. 'The sun is causing them to dry.'

Aanam inarcetaa irniani. 'The mother makes her child go to bed.'

With 'te' ending stems either '+vkar-' or '$@_5$+cete-' may be used.

Elitnauristem elitevkarai. or Elitnauristem elicetai. 'The teacher has them learn.'

Drill: a) Qimugteminun nasaurluq keggevkaraa. b) Yungcaristem iinrunek igevkaraa yuk. c) Qetunrani tagevkaraa. d) Angalkum nerevkaraa yungcarista. (What are the two interpretations of this sentence?) e) Nukalpiam aanaminun kenircetaa kemek. f) Qantaq igcetaa.

a) She let me taste her akutaq. b) Your child made me spill my coffee. c) The teacher let us dance in the school. d) My grandmother caused me to be grateful. e) My mother wouldn't let my older sister get married.

21.6 '$@_1\breve{+}$ni-' (V) 'subject says or claims that object (or that he himself, if used with an intrans. ending) is the Topic for V'. The symbol '$@_1$' indicates that the suffix drops 'te' from Class IVa bases and devoices the preceding fricative, but keeps 't' on Class IVb and IVc bases (see 2.4.7).

Akngirrniuq tallimikun. 'He says that he hurt himself on his arm.' (from Class IVa base 'akngirte-')

Assiitnia. 'He says that it is bad.' (from IVc base 'assiite-')

Assirnia. 'He says it's good.'

Angun taiciqniuq. 'The man says that he will come.'

Angutem taiciqnia tan'gurraq. 'The man says that the boy will come.'

Tan'gurraam tuqutellrunia carayak aataminun. 'The boy says that his father killed the bear.'

Tan'gurraam tuqucillrunia aatani carayagmek. 'The boy says that his father killed a bear.'

21.7 '+̂̃yuke-' (V) 'subject believes or thinks that object is the Topic for V'.

Kanaqlauyukaa. 'He thinks it's a muskrat.'

Cenírcukaa tan'gaurlurmun apa'urluni. 'She thinks that the boy is visiting her grandfather.'

21.8 '@$_1$+̌nayuke-' (V) 'subject believes or thinks that object might be the Topic for V'. This is like the preceding postbase but is used for a belief held with less certainty.

Kanaqlaunayukaa. 'He thinks it might be a muskrat.'

Cenírrngaitnayukaa nasaurlurmun maurlua. 'He thinks the girl might not visit her grandmother.'

The following two postbases are not compound-verbal postbases.

21.9 '-nqigte-' (V) 'to V again'.

Nerenqigtuq. 'He eats again.'

Nutenqigtaa. 'He shoots it again.'

21.10 '-llini-' (V). This postbase means that the speaker has become aware that an event has occurred without the speaker witnessing its occurrence. It can be translated by 'it seems that . . .' or 'I found out that . . .' or 'I discover that . . . .

Ayalliniuq. '(It seems that) he left.'

Ner'llinia or Nerrlinia '(I see that) he ate it' (see Chap. 2.8 for explanation of the two forms.)

Exercises

A. 1. Anngama nuliaminun inivkallrua atkuni. 2. Qimugta tuquvkaraa. 3. Yuut angalkuq tuunrivkaraat. 4. Tan'gurraam mikelnguut qiavkarai. 5. Arnam qetunrami paltuuga cimircetaa. 6. Perevkaraten muracuaraat. 7. Angutem maligtesqaa qetunrani. 8. Arnam paniminun payugtesqaa tegganeq akutamek. 9. Callmaasqagka nuliamnun kameksiigka. 10. Nukalpiat mumigciut qayameggnek. 11. Paircetaa qimugteḿun luuskaaq. 12. Kuv'ivkaraa panini mermek. 13. Angutem angaminun emutesqaa aanani. 14. Arnam uiminun kiuvkaraa allaneq. 15. Nuliaminun mingqevkaraa atkuni. 16. Yungcarista naulluuvigmun mikelngurnek taivkariuq. (here the "half-transitive" postbase is used after the postbase 'vkar') 17. Nukalpiam kuimarciigatevkarai mikelnguut. (the combination "(s)ciigate-" and "vkar" means "prevent", literally "cause them to be unable to V"). 18. Kitugtevkarkek apa'urlurpenun tanglugken. 19. Acama irniaqa qiavkaraa. 20. Maurluma erurisqaanga nayiit amiitnek. 21. Angnirniuq. 22. Elitnaurista anglaniyukaqa. 23. Nunatnayukai Kuigpagmiut. 24. Ayagcetenritaa. 25. Cikuircetaa puckaq. 26. Ceńirtenqigtesqaaten. 27. Anutevkarru qetunrarpenun qimugta. 28. Nalluyagutellrua agucillerkani neqnek. 29. Uivet agesqaaten nevceńun. 30. Tamarilliniuq cavutmek.

B. 1. The hunter let his son shoot the crane. 2. He asked his wife to repair the bag. 3. From the top of the small hill he is looking for swans. 4. The man had his wife take their children to the clinic. (use 'emute-') 5. With the stove, he melted some ice. 6. He says that the strangers are approaching your house. 7. I thought he was drinking tea. 8. He had me melt some ice. 9. Let the girls pluck the swans. 10. I had my children wipe the dishes which I had washed. 11. Let him eat. 12. Let them leave. 13. He killed some of my dogs. 14. Make your child lie down.

Chapter XXII. Subordinative Mood

Vocabulary

alerqur-	'to order, request, instruct, advise'
aqsak / aqsaq	'belly, abdomen' (often used in dual: 'aqsiik')
aliiman / aliuman	'mitten, glove' (also 'kauman' and 'aritvak' for mitten, and 'aasgaaq' [Y] for glove)
caperrnarqe-	'to be difficult'
kelg-	'to invite'
kevg-	'to lift, raise'
pegte-	'to release, let go'
qenerte-	'to be angry' (transitive base is 'qenrute-')
tan'gerliq	'black bear'
tangvag-	'to watch, look at'
taqukaq	'brown bear' (on Nelson Island this means 'seal')
ulug-	'to soften a skin or similar object by working it with one's hands, to crumple'
yuvrir-	'to examine'
22.6 @$_1\tilde{+}$na- (V)	'in order to V'
22.7 -r̲r̲aar- (V)	'V-ing first, after V-ing'
22.8 -q̲aqe- (V)	'V-ing now and then'

22.1 The three verb moods presented so far, the indicative, interrogative, and optative, are independent moods because verbs in these moods are the main, or only, verbs in the sentences in which they occur. The subordinative is basically a dependent mood; a verb in the subordinative mood generally occurs as part of a sentence having a main verb in one of the three independent moods.

The subject of a verb in the subordinative mood is always the same as the subject of the main verb. Keeping this fact in mind will make selection of the proper ending much easier.

If the verb in the subordinative is transitive, only the person and number of its object are indicated. The person and number of its subject, being the same as that of the main verb, aren't indicated at all. However, if the subordinative verb is intransitive its ending does indicate person and number of the subject.

On the chart below notice that the 1st and 2nd person object transitive forms are just like the 1st and 2nd person subject intransitive forms.

Transitive Subordinative Endings

		OBJECT							
		3rd person			1st person			2nd person	
		s	p	d	s	p	d	s	p	d
ANY SUBJ.	@+̃lu	ku	ki	kek	a	ta	nuk	ten	ci	tek

These endings all change 'tl' to 'll', like 1st and 3rd person optative.

Intransitive Subordinative Endings

SUBJECT				
3rd	s	@+̃lu	ni
	p		teng
	d		tek
1st	s		a
	p		ta
	d		nuk
2nd	s		ten
	p		ci
	d		tek

Examples:

Class	Base	Subordinative Form (3s intrans.)
I	cali-	caliluni 'working'
II	tai-	tailuni 'coming over'
III	nere-	nerluni 'eating'
	taqe-	taqluni 'quitting'
IVa	inarte-	inarrluni 'lying down'
IVb	elite-	elilluni 'learning'
IVc	(see Chap. 23 for these)	
VI	qavar-	qavarluni 'sleeping'
	nutg-	nuteglunì 'shooting'
	tangrr-	tangerrluni 'seeing'

22.2 The subordinative mood expresses an event involving the subject of the main verb and occurring, in a broad sense, in conjunction with the event expressed by the main verb, The subordinative verb can often be expressed in English using the ending 'ing' on the English verb.

Taillruunga piyualua. 'I came walking.'

Aqvaqurtuq cukaluni. 'He is running fast.'

Mikelnguq tekituq maliggluku aatani. 'The child arrives, coming with his father.'

Itellruut neryugluteng neqerrlugnek. 'They came in wanting to eat some dryfish.'

Ayagtukut nunapigmun iqvarluta-llu. 'We went to the tundra and picked berries.'

The last sentence shows how the subordinative can be used to relate a series of events having the same subject. If the events extend from one sentence to another, the subordinative can be used for the main verb of each sentence after the first, so long as the subject is clearly established in the mind of the listener.[1]

Angun mernurluni inarcugtuq. Tua-i-llu inarrluni qavarluni-llu.
'The man, being tired, wants to go to bed. And so he goes to bed and sleeps.'

Drill: a) Peggluku cavun igcetaa mermun. b) Nerellrua akutaq luuskaarpagmek aturluni. c) Arnaq yuralartuq assirluni. d) Imiraa qantaq muirluku. e) Qanertuq qenerrluni. f) Mikelnguq aquiguq ellami ngel'artu'rluni. g) Kuimaryugluteng matartut. h) Tuntuvagtengnaqluni pissurtuq. i) Cangyugluni neqnek kuvyirtuq.

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[1] The rule which states that the subject of a subordinative verb is the same as that of the main verb is not strictly adhered to when the subordinative is used in this way.

22.3 Subordinative endings can be used on noun bases with the implication of doing the action appropriate to the object denoted by the noun. When a subordinative ending is used on a Class IV noun base, the 'te' is retained and 'r' is inserted before the 'lu' of the ending. (Compare the use of the postbase '+(r)yug-' with nouns in Chap. 11.3.)

Qavartuq uligluni. 'He is sleeping using a blanket.'

Ayagciqukut qimugterluta. 'We shall go using dogs.'

22.4 A second use of the subordinative is as the main verb of a sentence to make requests, much like the second person optative. This is very common.

Aqumluten or Aqumqerluten. 'Sit down.'

22.5 The use of the subordinative is greatly extended by using it with postbases, such as '+̃yug-' in the fourth example of the preceding page. The following are examples of the subordinative used with the "compound-verbal" postbases introduced in Chap. 21.

Aptellruanga anngamnun ikayuusqelluku aatani.
'She asked me if my older brother would help her father.'

(Literally: 'She asked me wanting my older brother to help her father.' It may be helpful to break a complicated sentence like this into two sentences: 'Aptellruanga' (She asked me) and 'Anngamnun ikayuusqaa aatani' (She wants my older brother to help her father). Then note that 'luku' is the 3s-obj. transitive subordinative ending that corresponds to the 3s-3s indicative ending 'aa'.)

Qanrutellruanga kuimarciigatniluten. 'He told me that you couldn't swim.'

(Literally: 'He told me saying that you can't swim.' In two sentences: 'Qanrutellruanga' and 'Kuimarciigatniaten' (He says that you can't swim). The 2s-obj. transitive subordinative ending 'luten' corresponds to the indicative ending 'aaten'.)

In the two sentences above, the compound-verbal postbase used with subordinative endings already contains the idea of 'asking' or 'saying', so 'pillruanga' can be used instead of 'aptellruanga' or 'qanrutellruanga'.

Another example of the subordinative with a compound-verbal postbase:

> Alinguq ayallerkaminek kitnayukluni angyamikun.
> 'He is afraid to leave thinking he might sink with his boat.'
>
> (Literally: 'He is afraid of his own future departure, thinking that he might sink with his boat.')

Drill: a) Elitnauristem qanrutellrui mikelnguut itresqelluki. b) Kelgaput neresqelluki. c) Aptellruanga ikayuusqelluni. d) Nec'i yugtaicukluku itellrunritua.

a) He asked me to tan (soften) the skins. b) Thinking he might hurt the puppy, I told my son to release it. c) She told me to examine the mittens she made. d) Thinking that I might be angry at him, he told me that he would not watch me.

22.6 '$@_1\tilde{+}$na-' (V) is a postbase which is used with subordinative endings. It means, 'for the purpose of V-ing, in order to V, or intending to V.'

Taillruuq maavet cenirrnaluni.	'He came here in order to visit.'
Canaluten-qaa taiguten?	'Did you come for any particular purpose?'
Elitnaurtut elitnaluteng Yugtun.	'They are studying in order to learn Yup'ik.'

22.7 '-rraar-' (V) means 'V-ing first, or after V-ing'. This postbase is used mainly with the subordinative, although, as the third example shows, can also be used with the other moods. In some areas when this postbase is used with a base that ends in 'te', both 'te' and 'rr' give way to 'q'.

Manarraarlua uterciiqua. 'Hooking for fish first, I'll go home.'
or 'After hooking for fish, I'll go home.'

Tuntuq tuquterraarluku amiillruarput. 'After killing the caribou, we skinned it.' (also: 'tuquqaarluku')

Merraarlii. 'Let me drink water first.'

To express the concept of 'after' when the subject of the verb in the subordinative mood is not the same as the subject of the main verb, one must use a "causative" postbase, that is, '+vkar-' or '$@_5$+cete-', even though causation doesn't actually occur. This is because of the main fact about the subordinative mood: the subject of the verb in the subordinative is always the same as the subject of the main verb.

Nerellruunga ayagcetraarluku angun. 'After the man left, I ate.' (lit.: 'After I let the man leave, I ate.')

Drill: a) Ermiggaarluten neri. b) Yuvrirraarluki kiputellruanka taqukat amiit. c) Aanavet aqvallrua mingqut'ni callmagnaluku missuuk. d) Cikumek urugcilartut mengnaluteng. e) Kuingirraara.

a) Wash your hands first. b) I ate after the elders ate.

c) He went to the qasgiq in order to dance. d) We went down to the shore to look for the bullets we lost.

22.8 '-q̲aqe-' (V) 'to V now and then' is also used with the subordinative.

Nerqaqlutek aquiguk. 'They_2 are playing, eating now and then.'

Ayakaqluteng pissurtut. 'They hunt, moving once in a while.'

Exercises: Translate and analyze the following sentences.

A. 1. Angun mernurluni aqumgauq. 2. Makluteng kiartut. 3. Qialuten nerenrilu. 4. Canauq qantalingnaqluni. 5. Pissurtet ayallruut qayameggnek aturluteng. 6. Kegglartuq maqivilinaluni. 7. Utercugluteng mikelnguut qiagut. 8. At'erraarluku paltuuni anellruuq. 9. Erurraarluki qantat, arnam perrirai. 10. Culurqaarluku angyani tag'uq. 11. Yungcaristem alerqullruanga inartesqellua. 12. Aanam yuvriraa panimi atkuliara quuyurniqaqluni (quuyurniqa'aqluni). 13. Taillruuq kelegnaluta. 14. Nuliangeksaitniluku qanrutellruanga. 15. Umyuartequq tan'gerlimek tangellruyukluni. 16. Aturraarlukek aliimatek pegtak. 17. Acirraarluki qimugtet, atrit nalluyagutai. 18. Unilluki irniateng ayallruut. 19. Amiiraa maqaruaq uluamek aturluni. 20. Nunurluki inarcetakek irniatek. 21. Aptellruanga ikayuusqelluni. 22. It'gamikun akngirrluni qiaguq. 23. Qimugtevet keggaanga qiluggaarlua. 24. Negirtuq maqaruartengnaqnaluni. 25. Atkugluni anellruuq.

B. 1. Don't go away angry. 2. He opened the box in order to examine its contents. 3. They asked us to eat some akutaq. 4. He thought, in vain, that a moose had bent them. 5. Wanting to dance again the man stands up. 6. After he looked around he saw a moose. 7. How many of your dogs are able to run fast? 8. He worked singing the whole time. 9. I ate thinking that you had left me behind. 10. He stayed at the house in order to wait for them. 11. They are happily working. 12. Fearing the strangers we approached them. 13. He melted the ice in order to make coffee. 14. He brought over a sack after catching fish. 15. Removing his mittens, he comes into the house. 16. After you left we did not catch any rabbits. 17. After crawling to the chair the baby climbed up. 18. He told us that you had not yet arrived. 19. Using twenty-eight dogs the strangers arrived by sled. 20. My mother told me to take some akutaq to my grandmother again.

Chapter XXIII. Subordinative for Class IVc Bases

Vocabulary

aru-	'to rot, to ripen'
auk	'blood'
canek	'blade of grass' (also 'evek' (stem: [e]vg-))
inerqur-	'to warn, forbid, prohibit, or proscribe'
iraluq	'moon, month' ('unuggsuun' [Nelson Island])
picsaqe-	'to act intentionally' (Picsaqenritamken 'pardon me', lit. 'I did not act towards you intentionally')
puyuq	'smoke' (puyirtuq 'it's smoky') (also 'aruvak')
qavarni-	'to be sleepy' ('qavara-' [Y])
qerar-	'to go across'
qessa-	'to feel lazy or disinclined to act'
qilak	'sky, heaven, ceiling'
sulunaq / culunaq	'salted fish' (Russian loan word)
tang	'look! behold!' (interjection)
tegge-	'to be hard or tough'
ugaani	'because' (see 23.11)
23.2 +vke- / +peke (V)	'to not V' (used with subordinative)
23.4 $\tilde{-}$lria (V)	'the one that is V-ing' (intransitive participle)
23.6 @$^{\sim}_{4}$nguq* (V)	'the one that is V-ing' (used with Class IVc bases)
23.7 :$^{(u)}_{(i)}$ma- (V)	'to V for a long time, to be in a state of V'
23.8 @$_{1}\tilde{+}$narqe- (V)	'to tend to cause one to V'
23.9 @$_{1}\tilde{+}$naite-° (V)	'to not tend to cause one to V'
23.10 -ssiyaag- (V)	'to V too much'

23.1 Recall that Class IVc consists of those verb bases that end in 'te' marked with '°'. These are mostly bases that have been expanded by one of the negative 'ite' postbases such as '@$_2\tilde{+}$ngaite-°', '-nrite-°', ':(ng)ite-°', '-k̲saite-°', '+taite-°', '$\tilde{+}$yuumiite-°', and '$\tilde{-}$yuite-°'. Also included in Class IVc are expanded bases whose last postbase is '+(s)ciigate-°' or '$\tilde{\div}$mete-°', the bases 'manigcete-°', 'kiircete-°', 'kumlate-°', 'nanite-°', 'uqamaite-°', 'uqiggete-°', 'ikgete-°', and a few others. That is, stative verbs ending in 'te' are in Class IVc.

Class IVc bases take the special subordinative endings shown here.

Transitive:

OBJECT

		3rd person			1st person			2nd person		
		s	p	d	s	p	d	s	p	d
ANY SUBJ.	@$_5$na	ku	ki	kek	(@$_5$nii)	ta	nuk	k	ci	tek

Intransitive:

SUBJECT	3rd	s	@$_5$na	ni
		p		teng
		d		tek
	1st	s		(@$_5$nii)
		p		ta
		d		nuk
	2nd	s		k
		p		ci
		d		tek

Except for the marker '@$_5$na', instead of '@$\tilde{+}$lu', these endings are almost identical to regular subordinative endings. One exception is that the 2s. subject intrans. and 2s. object transitive form is 'nak' rather than the expected 'naten'. Another apparent difference is that the 1s. subject intrans. and 1s. object trans. form is 'nii'. This is because underlying ':nga' is added after the marker with the resulting 'nanga' going to 'nii' (see 2.4.5). Similarly when ':nga' is added to the regular subordinative marker 'lu' the result is 'lunga', hence 'lua' by velar dropping.

These endings drop 'te' from a base. In addition, an 'i' preceding the 'te' will generally be changed to 'u' especially if that 'i' is part of a diphthong 'ai' (there is some variation here). Thus, adding '@$_5$nani' to 'nereksaite-°' gives first 'nereksainani' and this goes to 'nereksaunani' (for most speakers). However, adding '@$_5$nani' to 'uqiggete-°' and 'assiite-°' gives 'uqiggenani' and 'assiinani' respectively.

Examples of the use of Class IVc subordinative:

Ayagtua nereksaunii. 'I left without eating (having not eaten yet)'

Angyat agiirtut cukaunateng. 'The boats are approaching slowly.'

Imaunani puckaq uqiggetliniuq. 'The barrel is light, being empty.'

Neryuumiinaku kumlaneq, Kass'aq utertellruuq. 'Not wanting to eat the frozen fish, the white man went home.'

Yurartuq assiinani. 'He is dancing poorly.'

Anyaqunak atkuinak. 'Don't go out without a parka.'

The last example shows that the peculiarities of the Class IVc subordinative are also those of the negative future optative '$\tilde{+}$yaqu-' (Chap. 20.2).

23.2 Class IVc subordinative endings are not attached directly to a base that has been expanded by the postbase '-nrite-°' although such expanded bases are in Class IVc. Instead, the special postbase '+vke-/ +peke-' is used on the original base in place of -nrite-°', and the class IVc subordinative ending is attached after this special postbase. '+vke-' is used with vowel ending bases, and '+peke-' is used with consonant ending bases. Examples:

Ayagtuq qanerpek'nani. 'He left not saying anything.' (from 'qanerpekênani' with 'n' staying voiced for many speakers even after supression of hatted 'e'; hence the apostrophe)

Nerevkenani caliuq. 'Without eating he works.' (compare 'Nereksaunani caliuq' - 'Without having eaten he is working')

Ukut acsat neresqevkenaki inerquraanga.	'He told me not to eat these berries.' (literally: 'He forbids me, not wanting (me) to eat these berries.')[1]
Irumkun akngirtaanga picsaqevkenii.	'He hurt me on my leg accidentally.' (lit: 'not acting towards me on purpose')

Drill: Attach the ending '$@_5$nani' to the following class IVc bases:

a) uqamaite-° b) kumlate-° c) nanite-° d) aturyuumiite-°

e) kuimayuite-° f) nunamete-° g) manigcete-° h) calinrite-°

i) tekitenrite-° j) qavanrite-°

23.3 Like the usual subordinative endings, class IVc subordinative can be used for making commands, in this case prohibitions, in place of the optative mood.

Cukaunak. 'Don't go fast.'

Nuussiliurpek'nak. 'Don't fool around with the knife.'

23.4 '-̃lria' (V) means 'the one that is V-ing'. This postbase drops final e's from bases. This means that when it is attached to a base ending in a stop or voiceless fricative plus 'e', the 'l' of the postbase becomes voiceless. Thus 'taqe-' and '-̃lria' give 'taqlria'. Re-inserting 'e' to break up the three-consonant cluster gives 'taqellria', with 'l' doubled to show that it is voiceless. A free variant is '-lria' which keeps e's. In Hooper Bay - Chevak, this postbase is '-lraa'.

tungulria 'the black one'

angelria 'the big one'

ayalria 'the one leaving'

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[1] The compound-verbal postbase generally precedes a negative postbase such as 'vke' or 'nrite'. Despite this ordering, the sense of 'neresqevkenaki' is 'asking me not to eat them' rather than 'not asking me to eat them'.

As the following example shows, the postbase '-̃lria' is one way that Yup'ik expresses concepts that are expressed by adjectives in English.

Angun qavarnilria inartuq. 'The sleepy man goes to bed.'

The combining form of this postbase is '-̃lriar-' (Class V). Thus, 'cukalriarituq' (he doesn't have a fast one). However, the absolutive singular is '-̃lria', as we have seen, rather than '-̃lriaq'. Also, the forms for the relative singular, for the absolutive and relative plural, and for all the duals are based on '-̃lrii-' rather than '-̃lriar-'. Thus, '-̃lriim', '-̃lriit', '-̃lriik', '-̃lriignek', etc. Examples:

kuimalriit	'the swimmers'
maurluqellriik	'grandmother and grandchild' (this is a combination of the postbases '-k̲e-' and '-̃lria' and has the special meaning 'the pair related in such a way')
Ipuucingnaquq muragmek teggellriamek.	'He's trying to make a ladle out of hard wood.'

23.5 A verb stem expanded by the postbase '-̃lria' can serve as the verb in a sentence when this sentence is exclamatory in nature. Usually such a sentence has a word such as 'tang'. This use of this postbase is called the intransitive participial verb mood. Its transitive counterpart is presented in Chapter 28. The intransitive participle can take the familiar 1st and 2nd person intransitive endings as the chart on the next page shows.

S	3rd	s	≃lria	
U		p	≃lriit	
B		d	≃lriik	
J	1st	s	≃lria	nga
E		p		kut
C		d		kuk
T	2nd	s		ten
		p		ci
		d		tek

Examples:

Tang, nunat uitalalriit imarpiim ceńiini. 'Behold, there was this village by the shore of the sea.'

Tang, qavarnilrianga.
'See, I'm sleepy.'

23.6 While the postbase '≃lria' may be used with Class IVc verb bases, the postbase '$@_4^{\sim}$nguq*' is often used instead.

kuigilnguq 'the one lacking a river, Kwigillingok'

assiilnguq 'evil thing, sin' (from 'assiite-°')

atrilnguq 'ring finger, the nameless one (literally)'

qilagmelnguut 'the ones in heaven'

tekitenrilnguq 'the one who didn't arrive'

The word 'mikelnguq' (child) is derived from an old base for 'small', 'mikete-°', which is a class IVc base (and is still in use in Hooper Bay, Chevak and Nelson Island).

The postbase '$@_4^{\sim}$nguq*' also is used as a verb ending for the intrans. participial mood, thus: 'ngua' (I), 'ngukut' (we), 'nguten' (you), etc.

Drill: a) caperrnarqellria b) iqvaqatalriit c) maanelnguut d) assilria e) uingilnguq f) imailnguq g) uqamailnguut h) kayangussulriit

a) black dog b) skinny man c) barking dogs d) heavy box e) long river f) the ones who haven't eaten yet

23.7 '$:\genfrac{}{}{0pt}{}{(u)}{(i)}$ma-' (V) means 'to V for a long time', or in the case of verbs which involve getting into a certain state, 'to be in a state of V.' When attaching this postbase to bases, '(i)' is used with class IV bases (changing 'ti' to 'ci'), '(u)' is used with bases of class III and VI, while just plain 'ma' is used on class I and II bases. This is a velar dropping postbase. The following examples should make it clearer how this postbase reacts with the various verb classes, and what it means with different types of verbs.

Class	Base	With postbase and ending
I	ciku-	cikumauq 'it is frozen' (vs. cikuuq 'it freezes')
II	qia-	qiamauq 'he's been crying for a long time'
III	nipe-	nipumauq 'it is extinguished' (vs. nip'uq 'it goes out')
IV	makete-	makcimauq 'he is up' (vs. maktuq 'he gets up')
VI	tupag-	tupaumauq 'he is awake' (vs. tupagtuq 'he wakes up')
	kaig-	kaigumauq 'he's been hungry for a long time'

Kuik anumauq imarpigmun. 'The river flows into the ocean.'

Actually, the meaning of this postbase is 'the Topic[1] of the embedded verb is already V'. In some cases this leads to ambiguity. For example: 'nerumauq' means 'he has been eating already, or for a long time' if the underlying verb is considered to be intransitive ('ner'uq') so that its Topic is the subject, the eater. On the other hand, 'nerumauq' means 'it has been eaten already' if the underlying verb is considered to be transitive ('neraa') so that its Topic is the object, the thing eaten.

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[1] See Chapter 21.2 for the definition of the term Topic.

23.8 '$@_1\tilde{+}$narqe-' (V) 'tends to cause one to V'

tuqunarquq 'it is deadly, or poisonous'

akngirnarquq 'it is painful' (from 'akngir-', a base distinct from 'akngirte-')

nernarquq 'it is edible'

alingnarquq 'it's frightening'

caperrnarqellria 'difficulty' (from a base which is no longer used independently)

When a base expanded by this postbase is used with a subordinative ending, the 'r' of the postbase is deleted. For example, 'alingnaqluni' (being frightening).

23.9 '$@_1\tilde{+}$naite-°' (V) is the negative of the postbase '$@_1\tilde{+}$narqe-'.

alingnaituq 'it isn't frightening'

caperrnailnguq 'an easy thing'

23.10 '-ssiyaag-' (V), 'to V too much, to be too V'

miksiyaagtuq 'it's too small' (from 'mikêssiyaagtuq' with the hatted 'e' suppressed and the fricative 's' undoubled because it is next to a stop, 'k')

mernussiyaagtuq 'he's too tired'

uqamaitessiyaagtuq 'it's too heavy'

23.11 Verb bases can sometimes function as noun bases, especially when they are used in the relative case. For example:

Qimugtaitem pianga. 'The lack of dogs is affecting me.'

The special word 'ugaani' (because), expressing extreme need, requires nominalized verbs in the relative case, and is only used in the manner of the following examples:

Kaigem ugaani neryugtuq.	'Because of hunger he wants to eat' (Lit.: 'In the consequence of hunger, he wants to eat.' It seems that the base 'ugar-̸' is being used with the possessed locative ending ':(ng)ani')
Utercuum ugaani aqvaqullruuq.	'Because of the wish to return home he ran.' ('utercuum' is from 'utercug-' which is a class VI base, hence the doubling of 'u' when adding the relative ending '÷m')

In chapter 28 we shall see another and much more common way of expressing the concept which is expressed in English by the word 'because'.

Exercises:

A. 1. Igcetanka kenret picsaqevkenaki. 2. Qayaunani qeraraa nanvacuar ivrarluni. 3. Inerqurai mikelnguut ellami aquisqevkenaki. 4. Cukaunak kitak cali apqerru. 5. Qemagtai qantat perrirpek'naki. 6. Niitevkarpek'nata qalarutuk. 7. Tangellruunga pingayunek keglunernek pangalelrianek. 8. Qemagtai neqerrluut uigtuavkenaki. 9. Inerquraanga sulunat ekesqevkenaki puckamun imailngurmun. 10. Kiartaa qilak tangvagpek'naku iraluq. 11. Aliksaqunaku qimulvak tungulria. 12. Qanrutellrua arnaq keggutailnguq ceńirtenqigciiqniluku. 13. Cali apqerru qanellren caperrnailngurnek qaneryaranek aturluten. 14. Mernussiyaagyukluku tan'gurraq kevgesqevkenaku yaasiignek uqamailngurnek qanrutellrua. 15. Pivkenak. 16. Asemńayukluku mingqutni inerquraa panini atuusqevkenaku. 17. Qanrutellruakut taqukartengnaqciqniluni alingnarqellriamek. 18. Assiitniluku neqerrluut neresqevkenaki inerqullruakut. 19. Amiiryuumiinaku maqaruaq pivkaraa nuliaminun. 20. Kaminiaq nipumayukluku ellia paltuuni kaminiam qainganun. 21. Picsaqevkenaku inarcimalria naulluulria tupagtaa. 22. Cukaunateng piyualuteng ullagaat kuik anumalria Kuigpagmun. 23. Ikirtellrua yaassiik imangqerrsukevkenaku neqerrlugnek. 24. Kass'aq anellruuq cukaluni kumlanermek neryuumiinani. 25. Piksaunak. 26. Caliuq taqevkenani.

B. 1. Thinking that our old boat might sink he forbade us to use it. 2. Trying not to wake the children he left the house without speaking. 3. The hungry man ate the fish without cooking it. 4. The woman told her child not to swallow the tough meat. 5. Thinking that the lake is frozen the children are going to play. 6. Without asking he sampled the salted fish. 7. The dog which lacks a tail tried to catch a running moose. 8. Don't go out without gloves.

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Chapter XXIV. Demonstrative Pronouns

Vocabulary

extended	restricted	obscured	
man'a	una		'this' or 'the one near speaker'
tamana	tauna		'that' or 'the one near listener'
		imna	'the aforementioned one'
ukna			'the one approaching speaker'
au͡gna[1]	ingna	amna	'the one over there, going away from speaker'
agna	ikna	akemna	'the one across there'
qau͡gna[1]	kiu͡gna[1]	qamna	'the one inland, inside, up river'
qagna	keggna	qakemna	'the one outside'
un'a	kan'a	camna	'the one below, toward river'
unegna	ugna	cakemna	'the one down river, on the coast, or by the exit'
pau͡gna[1]	pingna	pamna	'the one up there, away from river'
pagna	pikna	pakemna	'the one up above'
	kina		'who?, what person?'

24.4 +kuciq (N) 'one of the same kind as N'

24.5 +'(g)aq (V) 'that which has been V-ed'

24.6 -tu- (V), +tu- (N) 'to V regularly, to have N to the fullest'

24.7 -tuli (V), +tuli (N) 'one who V's regularly, or has N to the fullest'

24.8 +̃yaqlir- (V) 'to finally V'

24.9 +̃yaraq (V) 'manner of V-ing, device for V-ing'

24.10 +̃yartur- (V) 'to go to V'

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[1] The 'u͡g' in these words represents a single sound made with the lips rounded (See Chap. 1.5).

24.1 The words in the above vocabulary list are *demonstrative pronouns* in the absolutive singular. As we have seen previously in the case of 'una' and 'tauna' demonstrative pronouns may be used alone, or in apposition with a noun whose case and number they take. However, whether used alone or in apposition they never take possessed endings.

> Tauna nuussiqa assirtuq. 'That knife of mine is good.'
>
> Tauna assirtuq. 'That (one) is good.'

Yup'ik demonstrative pronouns differentiate much more than do their counterparts in English between objects in various locations. Demonstrative pronouns in the *extended* column indicate either large expanses of land or water, or objects that are lengthy or moving. Those in the *restricted* column indicate objects that are stationary (or moving within a confined area), fairly small in extent, relatively near, and visible. Those in the *obscured* column indicate objects that are farther away and not clearly in sight. The following sentences illustrate these distinctions for the row 'agna' (extended), 'ikna' (restricted), and 'akemna' (obscured) meaning in general 'the one across there'.

> Agna ikamraq (kuigem akiani) cukaqapigtuq. 'That sled across there (on the other side of the river) is going very fast.' [extended since object is in motion]
>
> Agna kuicuar (nunapiim akiani) imarmiutangqertuq. 'That creek across there (on the other side of the tundra) has minks.' [extended since object is lengthy]
>
> Agna nuna (kuigem akiani) tuntuvaituq. 'That land across there (on the other side of the river) doesn't have moose.' [extended since object is of broad expanse]
>
> Ikna nacaq (estuulum akiani) pikaqa. 'That hat across there (on the other side of the table) is mine.' [restricted]
>
> Akemna nanvacuar (ingrit akiatni) kanaqlalirtuq. 'That pond across there (on the other side of the mountains) has lots of muskrats. [obscured]

The only demonstrative pronouns which do not position an object in space are 'imna' meaning 'the aforementioned one' or 'the one called to mind', and 'kina', which we include here because it is inflected like a demonstrative.

Drill: Translate the following sentences and tell why the particular demonstrative pronoun is used in each case.

a) Imna elitengnaqliniuq Yugtun. b) Man'a ena ak'allauguq.
c) Alqaqaqa au͡gna arnaq. d) Qanruskiu amna taisqelluku.
e) Keggna tungulria qimugta keggsuituq. f) Un'a angyaq cukassiyaagtuq.
g) Kitak atrauteqerru pakemna kavirliq ulik. h) Atrarteqerru pikna saskaq. i) Cassurta-kiq ukna? j) Qamna kaminiaq nipumalliniuq.
k) Kan'a angun ivraqatalliniuq eknaluni angyamun. l) Cakemna nuna Yup'ilirtuq qanyuilngurnek Yugtun. m) Camek imangqerta amna patuilnguq egan? n) Kituuga au͡gna? o) Ingna puyirvik ukinengqelliniuq. p) Ciin kan'a sulunaq natermi uitaa?

Examining the chart of demonstrative pronouns, one will also notice that they tend to pair according to form and meaning as indicated by the brackets on the chart.

24.2 The inflection of demonstrative pronouns differs somewhat from that of ordinary nouns. The base is uncovered by removing the 'na' from the absolutive singular form as given in the vocabulary. To form other singular endings the usual unpossessed noun endings are used, such as 'm' for the relative, 'mi' for the localis, etc., but the base is first expanded by a "singular non-absolutive marker", 'u'. To form dual and plural endings, the usual unpossessed dual and plural endings are used, but the base is first expanded by a "non-singular marker", 'ku' ('gku' if the base ends in 'k').

abs. sing.	base	with sing. non-abs. marker	loc. sing.	with non-sing. marker	abs./rel. plur.
una	u-	uu-	uumi	uku-	ukut
'this one' (restricted)					
imna	im'-	im'u-	im'umi[1]	imku-	imkut
'the aforementioned one'					
ukna	uk'-	uk'u-	uk'umi	ukegku-	ukegkut
'the one approaching speaker'					
au͡gna	au͡g'-	au͡g'u-	au͡g'umi	au͡gku-[2]	au͡gkut
'the one over there' (extended)					
tauna	tau-	tau-[3]	taumi	tauku-	taukut
'that one' (restricted)					

The demonstratives 'man'a', 'tamana', 'un'a', 'kan'a', and 'kina' have peculiarities.

man'a	mat'-	mat'u	mat'umi	maku-	makut
'this one' (extended)					
tamana	tamat-	tamatu-	tamatumi	tamaku-	tamakut
'that one' (extended)					
un'a	un'-	un'u-	un'umi	unku-	unkut
'the one below' (extended)					
kan'a	kat'-	kat'u-	kat'umi	kanku-	kankut
'the one below' (restricted)					
kina	kit-	kitu-	kitumi	kinku-	kinkut
'who?'					

The bases of 'man'a' and 'tamana' end in 't' but this 't' drops before suffixes which begin with 'k' (such as the non-singular endings and the postbase '+kuciq' (see 24.3)). The bases of 'kan'a' and 'kina' also end in 't' but this 't' changes to 'n' before suffixes beginning with 'k'. An additional peculiarity is that the relative singular form for 'kina' is

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[1] Probably derived from this is 'imumi' meaning 'at that aforementioned time', while 'im'umi' means 'in that aforementioned place, thing, or person'.

[2] The 'u͡g' is voiceless next to 'k' and thus could be written 'w': 'awkut' (see Chap. 1.5).

[3] Base 'tau' plus marker 'u' gives 'tauu-', but the middle 'u' drops (see Chap. 2.11, rule h).

'kia' rather than 'kitum' (although some people do use 'kitum').

Examples:

Mat'umi iralumi qanikcaq urungelartuq. 'In this (current) month the snow usually begins to melt.'

Aptellrua im'umun ikayuusqelluni. 'He asked that one (mentioned before) to help him.'

Umyuarteqsaaqua qimugteten aturyuklukl au͡gkunun ayalrianun.
'I thought, wrongly, that those ones leaving were using your dogs.'

Kituusit? 'Who are you?' (The stem underlying the word 'kina' is 'kitu-' and it is expanded by the postbase ':̄(ng)u-' meaning 'to be')

Ukegkuk paltuungqertuk pimtun ayuqellriamek. 'Those two coming this way have coats like mine.'

Ekiki pissurcuutet kat'um angyam iluanun. 'Put the hunting equipment into the boat down there.'

Kituulria 'what's-his-name' (or 'kituulria ima', 'ima' from 'imna')

Drill: Give the ablative-modalis singular, plural and dual forms for each of the following demonstrative pronouns and translate:

a) ingna b) akemna c) qau͡gna d) pikna e) camna f) pagna

g) un'a h) kan'a i) man'a

24.3 There is a vocative form in Yup'ik used for addressing a person, or calling to him. It is primarily used with proper names and with demonstrative pronouns, though many of them rarely appear in the vocative. To form the vocative singular for demonstrative pronouns, the ending '+yuuq' is added to the demonstrative base. When this ending is added to bases ending in 't', the resulting 'ty' goes to 'c' (see 2.7). Thus, adding '+yuuq' to 'kat-' (the stem for 'kan'a') gives 'kacuuq'. With the demonstrative bases that do not end in 't', the 'y' of the vocative ending becomes 's' in many areas, and must do so before a stop consonant.

Examples:

Usuuq or uyuuq 'hey, you'

Ingsuuq (ingyuuq), ikayurnga. 'Hey you over there, help me.'

Iksuuq 'you, across there'

Kacuuq kit'eqatartuten! 'Hey you down there, you are going to fall in!'

Qaku atraqatarcit pakemsuuq? 'When are you coming down, you up there?'

The vocative is also used with proper names, and with words like 'aata' and 'maurluq'. For this group of words, as well as for the plural demonstrative pronouns, the vocative is formed by lengthening the last vowel of the word. In the Yukon area final 'q' goes to 'ng'.

Maurluuq 'hey, grandmother' ([Y] Maurluung)

ukuut 'you$_{pl}$ here'

kankuut 'you$_{pl}$ down there'

For formal address to a group of people the localis case is used for the vocative.

Yugni ukuut, taringengnaqluci pici.
'You people here, try to understand.' (lit: 'you, among the people,...)

24.4 '+kuciq' (N) means 'one of the same kind as N'. This postbase is used quite a lot with demonstrative bases. It is added directly to the demonstrative bases. It can also be used with ordinary noun bases and especially the base 'ca-'.

imkuciq 'a thing of the same type as something previously mentioned'

taukuciq 'one of the kind of things near the listener'

cakuciq 'what kind?'

Cakucinek qimugtengqercit? 'What kind of dog do you have?'

Nek'ucivnek kipuciiqua. 'I shall buy a house like yours.'

24.5 '+'(g)aq' (V) 'that which has been V-ed. This postbase uses '(g)' with class II bases.

elagaq	'that which has been dug, such as a hole in the ground'
pitaq	'that which has been caught, quarry' (from 'pi', '+te-' and this postbase)
aturaq	'that which has been worn, clothing'
iqairaq	'that which has been cleaned, washed clothing' (from 'iqaq', '-ir-' and this postbase)
keniraq or egaaq	'cooked food'
mumigtaq	'a translation, or a flapjack'

The combination of this postbase and the postbase ':̃(ng)u-' can be used as an equivalent to the English "passive".

Tuqutauguq. 'It was killed.' (lit: 'it is a killed thing')

The combination of the postbase '+'(g)aq' and '+kaq' (Chap. 16.6) gives '+'(g)arkaq' - 'a thing to V (in the future)'.

pitarkaq	'a future catch, a game animal or prey'
aturarkaq	'something to be worn or used' (an alternate form by 'ar'-deletion (Chap. 2.12) is 'atu'urkaq')

And, '+'(g)arkaq' and the postbase ':̃(ng)u-' give an emphatic form of the future.

Tuqutarkauguq. 'It must be killed.'

In fact the resulting postbase, '+'(g)arkau-' can also be used with transitive endings.

Nerenritarkaugait. 'They must not eat them.'

24.6 '-tu-' (V) means 'to V regularly or to the fullest extent'. This postbase is somewhat like the postbase '±lar-' (Chap. 9.4) but seems to have a wider range of application. In some areas '-̆tu-' is used to the exclusion of 'lar-'.

Kuuvvialituuq. 'He makes coffee (regularly).'
Kuingituunga. 'I smoke (as a habit).'
Yugtun-qaa qantuuten? 'Do you speak Yup'ik?'

This same postbase can be used on noun stems with meaning 'to have N to the fullest extent'. When attached to noun stems, it is an adding type suffix: '+tu-'.

Imartuuq. 'It is full.'
Sugtuuq. 'He is tall.' (from 'suk' which is a variant of 'yuk')
Akituuq. 'It is expensive.'

24.7 '-tuli' (V) means 'one that V's regularly or easily', and '+tuli' (N) means 'one that has N to the fullest'.

navtuli 'one that breaks easily'

24.8 '+̃yaqlir-' (V) 'to finally V'

Tupagyaqlirtuten. 'You finally woke up.'
Inarcaqlirtuq. 'He finally went to bed.'
Tangerrsaqlillruaqa. 'I finally saw him.'

24.9 '+̃yaraq' (V) 'manner or method of V-ing, way to V, device for V-ing'

igaryaraq 'way of writing'

qaneryaraq 'language or word'

aperyaraa 'its pronunciation'

igyaraq 'device for swallowing, throat'

Elitnauraa panini mingeqsaramek. 'She taught her daughter how to sew.'

24.10 '+̃yartur-' (V) 'to go (somewhere) in order to V'

Maqiyarturtuq. 'He's going in order to steam bathe.'

Inarcarturtua. 'I'm going to bed.'

This postbase is derived from another, '+̃yar-', which means 'to go V-ing'. Compare:

Pissurtuq. 'He is hunting.'

Pissuryartuq. 'He is going hunting.'

Pissuryarturtuq. 'He is going in order to hunt.'

Exercises: Translate and analyze:

A. 1. Qagna qanikcaq urunguq. 2. Un'a tang kanaqlak kuimalria. 3. Pau͡gna tumyaraq qanikcirtuq. 4. Pagna yaqulek mit'eqatartuq. 5. Unegna nuna netaituq. 6. Usuuq, tang agna cauga? 7. Tamatumi yuut uksumi taluyilallruut cikum acianun cangnaluteng neqnek. 8. Tamatumi iralumi kuik cikullruuq. 9. Au͡gkut pissuryarturtut. 10. Kinkuugat ukegkut kemgilnguut Kass'at? 11. Makcecaqliraqa imna. 12. Teptutuuten-qaa? 13. Keggna ikamraliurtuq imkucinek aturluni. 14. Akemsuuq taiqaa. 15. Neryartua, usuuq. 16. Tamana nutek pikaqa. 17. Mayurciqua enem kangranun atrautnaluku pakemna tamakuciqa. 18. Qanrusgu qamna qetunraan aqvasqelluku atkuka angyavnek cam'umek. 19. Ing'um elitengnaqaa yuraryaraq. 20. Kitumun tunellrusiu imna angyan imangetuli? 21. Una akiituq, tauna tau͡gaam akituuq. 22. At'eksaunaki atkuteng qagkut uptut nunatnaluteng. 23. Taringtuuq. 24. Inikiki ingkut aturat iqairraarluki. 25. Kiartevkenani nutengnaqciqaa ingna pitarkaq. 26. Imartuyukevkenaku ugna napartaq kevengnaqsaaqellrua.

B. 1. Do you write Yup'ik using the new writing system? 2. What kind is that bird (the one up there indistinct)? 3. She will have her son bring up that pack (the one by the river). 4. I want boots like that man's (the one by the door). 5. You (behind me) don't use my dirty blanket without examining it first. 6. I forgot that axe (the one inside out of sight) in the cache. 7. I'm going to try to catch that moose (the one moving across there). 8. They went to that village (the one near the coast) in order to buy some seal oil. 9. Those children (the ones not in sight but we both know who I'm referring to) don't have anything to put on. 10. Wake up that sleeping boy (the one upstairs). 11. What's that coming? 12. He poured the dirty water from his bucket into that barrel (the one over there). 13. Set a snare under that one (the one across there). 14. Those men (the ones down near the river) came back from Bethel. 15. I finally learned how to make kayaks.

Chapter XXV. Demonstrative Adverbs

Vocabulary

ak'a	'already, ago' (uninflectable except for forms such as 'ak'anun' - 'for a long time')
auĝ'ar-	'to take out of the way' (auĝ'a 'get out of the way!')
callug-	'to fight'
elate/	'area outside of something'
iluteqe-	'to be sorrowful or emotionally pained, to grieve'
icivaq	'a while ago'
kelu/	'area away from river with respect to something'
kete/	'area towards river with respect to something'
maa-irpak	'in this season, at this time'
marayaq	'mud' (marayirtuq 'it's muddy')
neq'ar-	'to remember suddenly'
nutaan	uninflectable word indicating that something has just now occurred for the better
puge-	'to come to the surface'
qamiquq	'head' (Kuskokwim)
qalu	'dip net'
takaqe-	'to be shy, to feel respect for' (takaqaa 'he is shy of her; takaryugtuq 'he feels shy'; takarnarquq 'he causes one to feel shy')
tan'gercete-°	'to be dark' (tan'geq 'darkness')
tanqig-	'to be bright'
tumyaraq	'trail'
uu-	'to be cooked'
unuk	'night'
wall'u	'or'
wanirpak	'right now'

Vocabulary, continued

25.3	=i	interjectional
25.4	+te-	shifts frame of reference
25.5	+virte-	'to go to N'
25.6	+tmurte-	'to go towards N'
25.7	+qsig-	'to be far in the N direction'
25.8	+qva⌿	indicates a high degree

25.1 Besides the demonstrative pronouns introduced in the last chapter, there are forms called demonstrative adverbs derived from the same bases. These demonstrative adverbs are derived by adding 'a' to the pronoun bases, although as one can see from the chart below there are a number of major alterations. The forms given on this chart are in the localis case. This is because the demonstrative adverbs don't have an absolutive or relative case. The part in parentheses is the localis ending and the part before that is the demonstrative adverb base.

extended	restricted	obscured	
maa(ni)	wa(ni)		'here'
tamaa(ni)	tua(ni) or tava(ni)		'there'
uka(ni)			'this way'
ava(ni)	yaa(ni)	ama(ni)	'over there'
agaa(ni)	ika(ni)	akma(ni)	'across there'
qava(ni)	kia(ni)	qama(ni)	'inland, inside, up river'
qagaa(ni)	kegga(ni)	qakma(ni)	'outside, out there'
una(ni)	kana(ni)	cama(ni)	'down below, towards river'

(continued)

extended	restricted	obscured	
un'ga(ni)	ua(ni)	cakma(ni)	'down river, towards coast, or exit'
pava(ni)	pia(ni)	pama(ni)	'up there, away from river'
pagaa(ni)	pika(ni)	pakma(ni)	'above there'
	na(ni)		'where?'

In all dialect areas, 'v' in the words 'avani', 'qavani', and 'pavani' is pronounced like English 'w'; this is because it comes from intervocalic 'u͡g'.

Drill: Show how each of the demonstrative adverbs is derived from the corresponding demonstrative pronoun.

The case endings used with demonstrative adverb bases are different from ordinary noun case endings. The chart to the right shows these special endings. There is no singular-dual-plural distinction, and there are no possessed forms. The aequalis case ending '+ten' is used only with 'wa(ni)' and 'tua(ni)'. There are two terminalis cases. Terminalis 1 means 'to'. while Terminalis 2 means 'towards'. Positional bases (see Chap. 17.4) such as 'kinguł', 'ciuł', 'keteł', etc. can also take Terminalis 2 endings. For example, 'ciutmun' (forward), 'ketetmun' (towards the river), 'iqlutmun' (the wrong way). The modalis function is lacking leaving only an ablative case for demonstrative adverbs.

Localis	+ni
Terminalis 1	+vet
Terminalis 2	+tmun
Ablative	+ken
Vialis	+ggun
Aequalis	+ten

The interrogative word 'na(ni)' takes case endings the same way that demonstrative adverbs do. However, there is no Terminalis 1 form but only a Terminalis 2 'natmun' ((toward) where), and the vialis is 'naugg'un' or 'nagg'un' rather than 'naggun'. Another exception to the general pattern is that the vialis of 'wa(ni)' is 'uuggun' rather than 'waggun'.

From earlier chapters we know the meaning and use of 'maani', 'maavet', 'uani', 'uavet', 'nani', and 'naken'. The other demonstrative adverbs are used similarly. It is important to distinguish between situations which call for the use of a demonstrative adverb and those which call for the use of the corresponding demonstrative pronoun.

Consider the words 'maani' and 'man'a':

case	demonstrative adverb	demonstrative pronoun in sing.
abs.	---	man'a 'this one here' (extended)
rel.	---	mat'um '(of) this one here'
loc.	maani 'here, at this place'	mat'umi 'in this one here'
term. 1	maavet 'to here'	mat'umun 'to this one here'
term. 2	maatmun 'toward here'	---
abl.	maaken 'from here'	mat'umek 'from this one here'
vial.	maaggun 'through here'	mat'ukun 'through this one here'
aeq.	---	mat'utun 'like this one here'

In general, if one can use an ordinary noun in apposition with the word in question, then the word in question should be a demonstrative pronoun. If an ordinary noun cannot so be used, then the word in question should be a demonstrative adverb. However, there is considerable freedom in choosing.

Examples:

Unuaqu ayagciqua pamavet. 'Tomorrow I'll go up there.'

Unuaqu ayagciqua pam'umun (ingrimun). 'Tomorrow I'll go to that one (the mountain) up there.'

Maaken nek'a yaaqsigtuq. 'My house is far from here.'

Mat'umek (tumyaramek) nek'a yaaqsigtuq. 'My house is far from this one (the trail) here.'

Drill: a) Wavet elliu. b) Maavet elliu. c) Naken pillrusit? d) Nagg'un ayagciqsit? e) Ciin tuaten pisit? f) Ak'a tamaani yuut cakmani qayalilallruut nayiit amiitnek. g) Waten pii. (this is the Kuskokwim optative 2s form of the verb base 'pi-' rather than 'pi' as used on the Yukon) h) Maligesnga maaggun. i) Au͡gkut arnat ayagtut qavavet iqvarnaluteng acsalugpianek. j) Anesgu qimugta qilulria maaken. k) Icivaq au͡gna taillruuq cakmaken kat'ukun angyakun. l) Tuaten pinrilu. m) Pagaani ingrim qaingani yugmek tangellruunga.

25.2 The postbase '+̃nete-' - 'to be at N' (see Chap. 15.3) is used a great deal with demonstrative adverb bases. Notice that the 'n' form of this postbase is used rather than the 'm' form, corresponding to the use of '+ni' as the localis ending for these bases.

Igarcuuteka nanta? 'Where's my pencil?'

Igarcuuten pikanetuq. 'Your pencil is up there above.'

25.3 '=i' is an enclitic used only with demonstrative adverbs. It is used with the demonstrative adverb base without any case ending. It is used to point out an object or event, and is thus interjectional in nature. However, not all of the demonstrative adverbs use this enclitic for interjectional forms. Instead, the interjectional forms of 'wa(ni)' and 'na(ni)' are 'wani-wa' ('right here') and 'nau-wa?' ('where?'). The interjectional forms of 'akma(ni)', 'qakma(ni)', 'cakma(ni)', and 'pakma(ni)' are 'akma', 'qakma', 'cakma', and 'pakma' (the enclitic '=i' is not used with these).

Nau-wa igarcuuteka? 'Where's my pencil?'

Pika-i. 'Up there.' (compare the way of asking and answering in 25.2 above)

Tang maa-i agiirtellria tengssuun! 'Look, the plane, coming here!'

Tua-i nerelta. 'There now, let's eat.'

The word 'tua-i' is extremely common, marking any change of theme or action much like the English expressions 'well', or 'then'. 'Tua-i-llu' means 'and then', 'tua-i-qaa?' means 'is that all?', while used alone 'tua-i' means 'enough' or 'that's all'. The expression 'tua-i-ngunrituq' means 'good-bye' (literally 'it isn't the end' or 'that's not all'), used when one doesn't expect to see the person for some time.

25.4 The postbase '+te-' is used with demonstrative adverb bases to shift the frame of reference away from the speaker and center it on another object, namely the grammatical possessor of the new word.

demons. adverb: Akmani tuntuviit amllertut. 'On the other side (with respect to speaker) moose are plentiful.'

positional base: Ingrim akmatiini tuntuviit amllertut. 'In the area on the other side of the mountain moose are plentiful.'

All of the demonstrative adverb bases can be expanded by this postbase '+te-' except that 'qule⌿' is used for the upper part of something rather than 'pikate⌿'; 'kelu⌿' is used for the area farther behind something rather than 'piate⌿'; 'kete⌿' is used for the area towards the river with respect to something rather than 'kanate⌿'; and 'elate⌿' is used for the area outside of something rather than 'keggate⌿'.

Even the interrogative base of 'na(ni)' can be expanded by this postbase.

Mat'um enem natiini enen uitaa? 'Where in relation to this house is your house located?'

compare,

Nani enen uitaa? 'Where is your house located?'

The expanded base 'nate⌿' is used to ask 'which part?', and along with the interrogative base 'nalir⌿' meaning 'which one?' (Chapt. 16.5), this completes the interrogative counterpart of the noun 'ila' meaning 'one of' or 'part of'.

Natii ikamraan navegta? 'Which part of his sled broke?'
compare: Ilii ikamraan navegtuq. 'Part of his sled broke.'

but, Naliat ikamrain navegta? 'Which one of his sleds broke?'
compare: Iliit ikamrain navegtuq. 'One of his sleds broke.'

25.5 '+virte-' - 'to go to N' corresponds to the Terminalis 1 ending '+vet' for demonstrative adverb bases. This postbase is used only with demonstrative adverb bases.

Maavirtuq. 'He's coming here.'

Pavavirtuq. 'He's going up there, away from the river.'

The 'v' of this postbase is always pronounced like an English 'v', so in the second example the first 'v' is like an English 'w', but the second 'v' is like an English 'v'.

25.6 '+tmurte' - 'to go towards N' corresponds to the Terminalis 2 ending '+tmun'. This postbase is used with demonstrative adverb bases and positional bases. It is equivalent to the English suffix 'ward' as in 'backward'.

Ciutmurtuq. 'He's going forward.'

Natmurcit? 'Where are you going?'

25.7 '+qsig-' 'to be far in the direction of N' is used only with certain demonstrative adverb bases, and certain positional bases.

Yaaqsigtuq.	'It is far away.'
Ukaqsigtuq.	'It is near by.' (from 'uka(ni)' meaning 'this way')
Quleqsigtuq.	'It is way up.'
Iluqsigtuq.	'It is far inside.'

25.8 '+qva≠' is a postbase indicating a high degree of distance or of proximity much like the above postbase. However, this postbase takes noun endings. Oddly, it takes ordinary unpossessed case endings, but only in the plural.

yaaqvani	'in the far distance'
ukaqvanek	'from very near'

25.9 The base 'takaqe-' ('to be shy of') in the vocabulary for this chapter is one of a small number of bases (all dealing with emotional states) where the underlying stem is never used without being expanded by one of a limited number of postbases. Such a stem may be called a root. Thus:

Takaqaa.	'He is shy of him, feels respectful towards him, or feels inhibited by him.'
Takaryugtuq.	'He feels shy.'
Takartartuq.	'He is habitually shy.' (the postbase '+tar-' is used only with stems of this kind)
Takarnarquq.	'He causes people to feel shy, is inhibiting.'
Takarnaituq.	'He doesn't cause people to feel shy.'

The root in these forms is clearly 'takar-' but one cannot say *'takartuq' nor *'takaraa'.

Exercises

1. Akmani nunarpagtangqertuq. 2. Avani ciuqvani yuut nel'ilallruut iteryaralililuteng nunam aciakun. 3. Qanrutaanga aanani maanetniluku. 4. Qavatmurtellruut tan'gerlinek pissurnaluteng. 5. Tang pikna mikelnguq piyualria enem qaingani! 6. Nantellrusit yaaliagni? 7. Agaavirtelta kuigem akianun paluqtarnek negiryarturluta. 8. Qakmani ellivicuarmi neqkapuk aqvaki. 9. Keggani tangellruunga pingayunek imkucinek mayulrianek napam kangranun. 10. Maqivilikina enem keluani. 11. Acsalugpiartangqertuq elitnaurviim ketiini. 12. Natmurteqatarcit? 13. Imna nanvaq nunapiim akmatiini imartuuq. 14. Arnat unuakumi pavavirtellruut iqvaryarturluteng atakumi-llu utertellruluteng. ('unuakumi' means 'in the morning', and 'atakumi' means 'in the evening'). 15. Un'ga-i nayiq kuimalliniuq uatmun pugqaqluni. 16. Ikaggun avelngaq ava-i pugellruuq. 17. Kiavet estuulum acianun akutaq elliu. 18. Maaggun piyuagi. 19. Amani alqamni aanaka ner'uq. 20. Qagaaggun pangalegtuq qimulvak. 21. Nau-wa enen? 22. Unaggun kuicuarkun kanaqlak uatmurtuq. 23. Una pikiu wall'u ingna.

1. The bird is sitting high up in the tree. 2. I can see the kayak approaching from downriver in the distance. 3. I wonder if he will remember to come here to eat. 4. Using a dipnet I shall try to catch some little fish through a hole in the ice. 5. Don't go back up there without taking a rifle. 6. Standing outside the house he tried to repair his sled so that he could use it in a few days. 7. He is grieved over her death. 8. She brought the meat to the surface of the soup with a spoon. 9. Don't eat the rare meat. (use 'uu-' and postbases 'ma-', 'nrite-' and 'nguq')
10. At this time the road is usually very muddy. 11. Take the fighting boys away. 12. I just now remembered what she said. 13. They went upriver or up to hills.

Chapter XXVI. Personal Pronouns

Vocabulary The following words are all uninflectable.

atam	'look!, pay attention!'
ataam	'again'
akeka	'ouch!'
akleng / nakleng	'too bad!, poor you!, I'm sorry!'
ampi	'hurry up, let's go!'
angli-lli	'so big, so much!'
ala-i	'oh my!' (expression of surprise or fear)
arca	'be quiet!, too much; it's excessive'
cama-i	'hello' (on first meeting, or after not seeing someone for a while; usually accompanied by shaking hands)
egmian	'immediately'
ilumun	'truly, surely'
ineqsikika	'how cute!'
kiiki	'hurry up!'
kita	'here!' (when handing something)
naamikika / naamell'	'I don't know, I'm not sure'
piciatun	'in any manner'
tayima	'is gone, past'
uumiku	'next time'
waqaa	'hello, what's up?'

26.3	+(r)tuumar- (N)	'together with one's N'
26.5	-nru- / $@_5$llru- (V)	used for making comparatives
26.6	-nr⌿ / $@_5$llr⌿ (V)	
26.7	$@_5$+paa / ~ vaa (V)	'my, how V it is!'
26.7	=lli	used in conjunction with preceding postbase
26.8	+nkuk, +nkut (N)	'together with associate(s)'
26.9	$@_3$:(u)n (V)	'device for V-ing, reason for V-ing'

26.1 The chart below shows the formation of the personal pronouns for 'I', 'we', 'you', 'he, she, it' and 'they'.

The formation of the various cases of these pronouns does not follow a rigid pattern, however, it seems that the first person pronouns for 'I' and 'we' are related to 'wani' (right here), while the other pronouns are derived from a base 'elle-' or 'ell-' which is possibly related to the old base 'ete-' (to be). Thus 'ellii' (he, she, or it) is literally 'his 'elle'' (perhaps, 'his essence').

		singular	plural	dual
3rd person	abs.	ellii 'he, she, it'	ellait 'they'	elkek
	rel.	elliin	ellaita	elkenka
	loc.	elliini 'in him, in it'	ellaitni 'in them'	elkegni
	similarly for the other cases			
1st person	abs.& rel.	wii/wiinga 'I, me, my'	wangkuta 'we, us, our'	wangkuk
	loc.	wangni 'in me'	wangkutni 'in us'	wangkugni
	similarly for the other cases			
2nd person	abs.& rel.	elpet 'you, your'	elpeci	elpetek
	loc.	elpeni	elpeceni	elpetegni
	similarly for the other cases			
3R person	abs.& rel.	ellmi[1] 'himself'	ellmeng 'themselves'	ellmek
	loc.	ellmini	ellmeggni	ellmegni
	similarly for the other cases			

---

[1] The abs. & rel. forms of the 3R personal pronoun are rarely used.

In Yup'ik the ending of a verb gives the person and number of both subject and object. Personal pronouns are used for emphasis, and in situations where the verb ending doesn't give enough information concerning the parties to an action. An example of this situation is the compound-verbal postbases, '÷sqe-', '+vkar-', '@$_5$+cete-', '@$_1\tilde{+}$ni-', etc. (Chapter 21).

Pillruanga elpenun tegullruniluku angyaqa. 'He told me that you took my boat.'

Here the subject of 'tegu-' is 'you' and can only be indicated by a personal pronoun in the terminalis case: 'elpenun'.

Further examples:

Ellaita pikaat. 'It belongs to them.'

Tuaten-llu wii niitellruaqa. 'I too heard it like that.'

Wiinga, aataka, aanaka-llu tekitellruukut. 'I, my father, and my mother arrived.'

Kaigtua. Elpesmi? 'I'm hungry. How about you?' (from 'elpet-mi')

Ellminek tuqutellruuq. 'He killed himself.'

Ellmikun ullagaa. 'He went to him for no particular purpose.' (The word 'ellmikun' often has this meaning, and may be used to refer to a 1st or 2nd person subject as well.)

26.2 The three words 'tamaq' and 'tamalkuq', both meaning 'all' or 'whole', and 'kii'[1], meaning 'only' or 'alone', behave in a special way.

	singular	plural	dual
3rd	tamiin tamalkuan 'all of it'	tamaita tamalkuita 'all of them'	tamarkenka 'both of tamalkugkenka them'
1st	tamarma tamalkurma 'all of me'	tamamta tamalkumta 'all of us'	tamamegnuk 'both of tamalkumegnuk us'
2nd	tamarpet tamalkurpet 'all of you$_1$'	tamarpeci tamalkurpeci 'all of you'	tamarpetek 'both of tamalkurpetek you'
3R	tamarmi tamalkurmi 'all of it'	tamarmeng tamalkurmeng 'all of them'	tamarmek 'both of tamalkurmek them'

3rd	kiingan 'him alone'	kiingita 'them alone'	kiigkenka 'them$_2$ alone'
1st	kiima 'I alone'	kiimta 'we alone'	kiimegnuk 'we$_2$ alone'
2nd	kiivet 'you$_1$ alone'	kiivci 'you alone'	kiivtek 'you$_2$ alone'
3R	kiimi 'he alone'	kiimeng 'they alone'	kiimek 'they$_2$ alone'

The endings in the charts above are derived from the usual relative case endings, except that '+ma', '+mi', '+meng' and '+mek' are used here, whereas the usual relative case endings corresponding to these are dropping type.

The 3R form is used when 'all' or 'alone' refers to the subject of the sentence, and the ordinary 3rd person form is used when 'all' or 'alone' refers to the object or anything else in the sentence other than the subject. (These three words behave much like the "Connective Verb Moods"; see Chap. 27.)

> Tamarmeng ayallruut. 'They all left.'
>
> Tamarmeng ceńirtellruakut. 'They all visited us.'
>
> Tamaita kalikat taiskiki. 'Bring all the papers.'

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[1] In Hooper Bay - Chevak this word is 'keyi' or 'keyeq'

Kiima caliunga. 'I am working alone.'

Kiimi ner'uq. 'He is eating alone.'

Kiingan nerellrua. 'He ate only it.'

Kiimetuq. 'He is alone.' (from 'kiimi' and 'etuq')

There are also localis , terminalis, etc., forms of these words:

Meq tamiini uitauq. 'Water is everywhere.' ('tamiini' is 3rd pers. loc.)

26.3 '+(r)tuumar-' (N) This postbase means 'together with one's N'. The '(r)' is used with noun bases ending in 'te'. This postbase also takes the special set of retaining type relative endings that are used with the words 'tamaq', 'tamalkuq' and 'kii'.

Taikina irniartuumarpet. 'Come with your children.'

Tangrranka angutet qetunrartuumaita. 'I see the men with their sons.'

Inartellruuq ivrarcuutertuumarmi. 'He lay down with his wading boots on.'

26.4 There are a number of verbs in Yup'ik which involve getting into, or being in a certain physical state, position or condition. Each of these verbs has two bases: one ending in 'rte-' or 'gte-' which denotes the action of getting into that state, and the other ending in 'ngqa-' which denotes being in that state.

Examples

nangerte- 'to stand up' (Chap. 14)	nangengqa- 'to be standing'
ikirte- 'to open' (Chap. 5)	ikingqa- 'to be open'
ceńirte- 'to visit' (Chap. 6)	ceńingqa- 'to be visiting'
mumigte- 'to turn over' (Chap. 5)	mumingqa- 'to be turned over'

inarte- 'to lie down' (Chap. 12)	inangqa- 'to be lying down'
matarte- 'to undress' (Chap. 19)	matangqa- 'to be naked'

Evidently each of these verb bases comes from a root ending in 'r' or 'g' which is not used without being first expanded by either the postbase '+te-', or the postbase '-ngqa-'.

The underlying roots do show up in a special construction which is limited to this kind of verb. Instead of the intransitive subordinative for verbs in the "state" column ending in 'ngqa-', we can use a relative noun ending on the underlying root. These relative endings follow the same pattern as with the words 'tamaq', 'tamalkuq' and 'kii' and the postbase '+(r)tuumar-'.

Examples

Nerellruuq nangermi. 'He ate standing.' (instead of 'nangengqaluni')

Qavangnaqut inarmeng. 'They are trying to sleep lying down.' (instead of 'inangqaluteng')

26.5 Comparatives: The postbases '-nru-' and '@$_5$llru-' are used for making comparisons. The subject of the verb expanded by the postbase is the thing which has more of the quality denoted by the verb. The thing having less of that quality is in the localis case. This use of the localis is called the "localis of comparison". @$_5$llru- is used with Class IVc bases including 'mikete-'.

Una ena assinruuq nevni. 'This house is better than your house.'

Assiillruuq. 'It is worse.'

Qimugtet uqilanruut maqaruani. 'Dogs are faster than rabbits.'

Sugtunruunga elpeni. 'I am taller than you.'

Mikellruuten (mikenruuten) wangni. 'You are smaller than I.'

26.6 The two postbases above are built on the nominalizing postbases '-nr-̸' and '$@_5$llr-̸'. When one of these postbases is attached to a verb base, the resulting noun base denotes 'the one or ones having more of the quality denoted by the verb base than the grammatical possessor.' This is best made clear by examples.

mikelnguum angenra	'the one larger than the child' (lit: 'the child's larger one')
mikelnguum angenri	'the ones larger than the child'
mikelnguut angenrat	'the largest one of the children'
mikelnguut angenrit	'the largest ones of the children'
Qimugtet mikellrata keggellruanga.	'The smallest dog bit me.'

26.7 '$@_5$+paa / ~vaa' is an uninflectable verb ending. The 'p' variant is used with bases ending in a consonant or with 'te' ('te' is dropped), while the 'v' variant is used with vowel ending bases (dropping any 'e'). The meaning is 'My, how ______!', referring to a characteristic of the speaker, listener, or something other than speaker or listener. When the object being referred to is specified, it is put in the localis, and the enclitic '=lli' is used with whichever word comes first of the pair.

Kaigpaa!	'How hungry (I am)!'
Cukaipaa!	'How slow (it is)!'
Assirpaa!	'My, how good!'
Assirpaa-lli angyami!	'My, how good the boat is!'
Kiircepaa (or kiircessvaa)	'How hot is is' (from 'kiircete-' 'to be hot')
Assiipaa!	'How bad!'
Nengllirpaa!	'How cold it is!'
Anuqlirpaa!	'How windy!'

Wangni-lli naulluuvaa! 'Am I ever sick!'

Tangerrsaqlirpaa! 'Finally seeing (you)!'

Taiyuipaa! 'Never comes!' ('How slow he is!')

Alingnaqvaa! 'How frightening!' (the 'r' drops from '@$_1\tilde{+}$narqe-')

26.8 '÷nkuk$_{d.}$, ÷nkut$_{pl.}$' (N). This postbase means 'N and associate(s)', where N is usually a personal name. Consequently, it never appears in the singular. If the associates are also indicated by a separate word, that noun is often in the absolutive case, even if 'N and associate(s)' is the subject of a transitive verb (see second example below).

Iinruangcankut uitalartut ing'umi nerpagmi.
'Iinruangcaq and his family live in that big house.'

Nuk'ankuk aatani-llu aturak angyaqa.
'Nuk'aq and his father are using my boat.'

26.9 '@$_3$:(u)n' (V). 'device for V-ing'. Nowadays this postbase is not freely added to bases to make new words; '+cuun/+ssuun' is used instead (see Chap. 17.5), however the postbase '@$_3$:(u)n' appears as a part of many common words.

egan 'pot' (from 'ega-' 'to cook')

keggun 'tooth' (from 'kegge-' 'to bite') (compare 'keggsuutek' 'pliers')

mingqun 'needle' (from 'mingqe-' 'to sew') (compare 'mingqessuun' 'sewing machine')

kis'un 'sinker' (from 'kit'e-' 'to sink')

ipuun 'ladle' (from 'ipug-' 'to scoop')

cikuliurun 'ice pick' (from 'cikuliur-' 'to work on ice')

In combination with the postbase '-ḵe-' this postbase '@$_3$:(u)n' means 'reason for'. This combination, '@$_3$:(u)ṭeke-' 'to V on account of', is productive.

Quyatekaa. 'He is thankful on account of it.' (compare, 'Quyavikaa.' 'He is thankful to him.')

Exercises

1. Kaigpaa! Ampi, nerelta. 2. Ellii egmian inartellrulliniuq.
3. Ineqsikika atam ingna tangerqerciu tamarpeci. 4. Ilumun elpet kenkamken.
5. Ellmeggni tamarpeci uumiku inartesqaaceci. 6. Angli-lli cukaipaa! Ampi!
7. Naamell', natmun kiingan ayaucia nalluaqa. 8. Elpeni-lli angli iqavaa.
9. Tayima ayallruuq. 10. Ataam cali taikina. 11. Ala-i una.
12. Mernungvaa! 13. Akeka, ciin uucecia? 14. Ingyuuq tailuten cama-irnga.
15. Ampi usuuq. 16. Akleng atam tauna mikelnguq tangerqerru.
17. Arca ukuut. (or 'arcaci') 18. Kita kansuuq. 19. Angli-lli tamatumi
yugmi angvaa. 20. Aptellruanga ciin qimugteni elpenun akngirtellrucianek.
21. Aptellruatnga elpetegnun ikayuusqelluki irniateng. 22. Yuut tamarmeng
ayallruut nunameggnek. 23. Nerellruanka tamalkuita neqerrluut.
24. Ukveqenritaqa kiivet nerellrucin akutamek tamalkuan. 25. Ingna
puqinruuq elpeceńi. 26. Tan'gurraat mikellrat unitaullruuq.
27. Tamamta caliukut. 28. Kiingan qanrutellruat tekiyucimnek.
29. Amiik ellminek ikirtellruuq. 30. Wangkuta tamamta ayagciqsugnarqukut.
31. Anellruuq nem'ek matarmi. 32. Tamalkuunrituq. 33. Elpenun ikayuusqumayaaqua.

1. He thought that you might help us. 2. Did he ask you if we had stolen
his gun? 3. He bought the biggest parka. 4. You are fatter than me.
5. My, how much fun! 6. Do it in any way. 7. Did you$_2$ come through the
mountains by yourselves? 8. Did they steal everything? 9. Take all of it.
10. They conversed standing by the door. 11. He fell into the water with
his clothes on. 12. I don't want one which isn't complete. 13. He doesn't
care to be alone. 14. I ate the whole thing. 15. I thought that you would
help her. 16. He rejoices over it. 17. She is crying on account of her
dog's death. 18. Having that as his reason, he left.

Chapter XXVII. The Connective Verb Moods, Part I

Vocabulary

alarte-	'to make a mistake'
aterte-	'to drift with the current'
avu-	'to supplement' (e.g., Arnaq akutaliuq avuluku acsanek. 'The woman makes akutaq adding in berries.')
iir-	'to hide'
mass'laq	'butter' (Russian)
mecuq	'fluid, juice, sap' (Mecunguq 'He gets wet')
pirta / pirtuk	'blizzard' (Pircirtuq 'There's a blizzard')
qaqite-	'to finish, complete'
qiugliq	'blue thing'
tulukaruk	'crow, raven'
ule-	'flood or overflow, tide comes in' (ula^{e} 'a flood', Ulutaa 'It floods it')
uverte-	'to be tilted or leaning'
ungilag-	'to itch'
uqsuqaq	'duck, pintail'
yuu-	'to remove from container, to remove clothing, to get out of a boat'
27.6 =gguq	'he said', 'it is said'
27.7 =ggem	'I thought', 'it seems'
27.8 =am	'how about'

27.1 The subordinative mood (chap. 22, 23) is used to express a connection between two verbal events which have the same grammatical subject. In this chapter and the next, seven dependent verb moods are introduced. Using these moods, it is *not* necessary that the subject of the dependent verb be the same as the subject of the main verb. These seven moods all end in much the same way, and these endings are presented on one chart. However, the "markers" that come before the final endings from the chart are different for each mood.

Unlike the Subordinative endings, the endings for the Connective verb moods show both person and number of both subject and object. There are different sets of endings for ordinary 3rd person *subject* and 3R *subject* (that is, for those where the subject of the dependent verb is different from the subject of the main verb, and those where it is the same). And there are different sets of endings for 3rd person *object* and 3R *object* (referring to the subject of the main verb).

Notice that on the chart of endings on the following two pages, endings which begin with a vowel are velar dropping type (:), endings that begin with a consonant followed by a vowel are retaining type (+), and endings that begin with a consonant cluster are consonant dropping type (-). The "+" sign in front of second person subject endings applies to the versions of these endings that begin with "pe" rather than to the versions that begin with "v".

ENDINGS FOR THE CONNECTIVE MOODS

Transitive Endings

			3rd person			1st person			2nd person			3R person		
			s	p	d	s	p	d	s	p	d	s	p	d
	s		aku	aki	akek	anga	akut	akuk	aten	aci	atek	ani	ateng	atek
3rd	p	:	atgu	atki	atkek	atnga	atkut	atkuk	atgen	aceci	acetek	atni	aceteng	acetek
	d		agku	agki	agkek	agnga	agkut	agkuk	agten	agci	agtek	agni	agteng	agtek
	s	-	mku	mki	mkek				mken	mci	mtek	mni	mteng	mtek
1st	p	-	mteggu	mteki	mtekek				mteggen	mceci	mcetek	mteni	mceteng	mcetek
	d	+	megnegu	megneki	megnekek				megnegen	megci	megtek	megni	megteng	megtek
	s		vgu[1]	vki	vkek	vnga	vkut	vkuk				vni	vteng	vtek
2nd	p	+	vciu	vciki	vcikek	vcia	vcikut	vcikuk				vcini	vciteng	vcitek
	d		vtegu	vtegki	vtekek	vtegnga	vtegkut	vtegkuk				vtegni	vtegteng	vtegtek
	s		miu[2,3]	miki	mikek	mia	mikut	mikuk	miten	mici	mitek			
3R	p	+	megteggu	megteki	megtekek	megtenga	megtekut	megtekuk	megteggen	megceci	megcetek			
	d		megnegu	megneki	megnekek	megnenga	megnekut	megnekuk	megnegen	megneci	megnetek			

[1] All second person forms have a variant beginning with "pe" for use after consonants, thus "pegu", "peciu" etc.

[2] In 3R subject transitive forms the two Contemporative moods insert "ni" after "mi", and in some dialect areas this "ni" is inserted between the subject and object parts of other transitive endings with appropriate adjustments made.

[3] In 3R subject transitive and intransitive forms the Conditional mood uses "n" in place of "m" on the chart.

Intransitive endings
for the Precessive, Concessive, Contingent, Consequential and Conditional moods.

	s		an
3rd	p	:	ata
	d		agnek
	s	+	ma
1st	p	-	mta
	d	+	megnuk
	s		vet / pet
2nd	p	+	vci / peci
	d		vtek / petek
	s		mi[3]
3R	p	+	meng
	d		mek

Intransitive endings
for the two Contemporative moods.

	s		ani
3rd	p	:	atni
	d		agni
	s	-	mni
1st	p	-	mteńi
	d	+	megni
	s		peni
2nd	p	+	peceńi
	d		petegni
	s		mini
3R	p	+	meggni
	d		megni

---

[3] See footnote 3 to chart of transitive endings on preceding page.

The first two connective moods take special intransitive endings (see chart) which are like possessed localis endings.

27.2 The Contemporative 1 mood. This mood means "when" with its use limited to the past. The marker for this mood is '-llr-'.

Examples:

tangellraku 'when he saw it' ('tangrr-' and '-llr-' and '+aku')

ayallemni 'when I left' ('ayag-' and '-llr-' and '-mni' giving 'ayallmni' with 'e' insertion giving 'ayallemni')

ayallrani 'when he left'

Aataka nerellrani calingellruunga. 'When my father ate, I started to work.'

The next three examples illustrate the use of 3R subject and 3R object endings.

Tangllerminiu tuntuvak angun ayallruuq.[1]
When the man saw the moose, he (the man) went away. (3R subject)

Angutem tangellrani tuntuvak ayallruuq.
When the man saw the moose, it (the moose) went away. (3R object)

Angutem tangellraku tuntuvak arnaq ayallruuq.
When the man saw the moose, the woman went away. (neither)

Further examples:

Tangellranga (tangellrania) iillruunga.
When he saw me I hid.

Qanrutlemni ngel'allruuq.
When I told him he laughed.

---

[1] Note that although "the man" is also the subject of the transitive verb, "tangllerminiu", it is put in the absolutive case as the subject of the main verb "ayallruuq" which is intransitive, rather than being put in the relative case as the subject of "tangllerminiu".

27.3 The Contemporative 2 mood. This mood means "while" in the past. For Yukon and Nushagak River the marker is '$@_2\tilde{+}$nginanr-', while for Kuskokwim and Bristol Bay it is '$@_2\tilde{:}$(ng)inanr-', with '(ng)' used after vowel ending bases.

<table>
<tr><th>Class</th><th>Base</th><th>Yukon</th><th>Kuskokwim</th><th></th></tr>
<tr><td>I</td><td>cali-</td><td>calinginanrani</td><td>caliinanrani</td><td>'while he works'</td></tr>
<tr><td>II</td><td>qia-</td><td colspan="2">qianginanrani</td><td>'while he cries'</td></tr>
<tr><td>III</td><td>nere-</td><td colspan="2">nernginanrani</td><td>'while he eats'</td></tr>
<tr><td>IVa</td><td>cenirte-</td><td colspan="2">ceńirrnginanrani</td><td>'while he visits'</td></tr>
<tr><td>IVb</td><td>elite-</td><td colspan="2">elisnginanrani</td><td>'while he learns'</td></tr>
<tr><td>IVc</td><td>qavanrite-•</td><td colspan="2">qavanrilnginanrani</td><td>'while he isn't sleeping'</td></tr>
<tr><td>VI</td><td>qavar-</td><td>qavarnginanrani</td><td>qavainanrani</td><td>'while he sleeps'</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>kaig-</td><td>kaignginanrani</td><td>kaiginanrani</td><td>'while he is hungry'</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>qanr-</td><td>qanernginanrani</td><td>qanrinanrani</td><td>'while he speaks'</td></tr>
</table>

Drill: a) Aanaseng iqvainanrani mikelnguut aquillruut. b) Allaneq tekitellrani mikelnguut iillruut. c) Angun atertellermini alingellruuq. d) Pircillrani pissullrunritukut. e) Ulnginanrani tamarmeng yuut pamavirtellruut. f) Ivrallemni ivrucignek imangtulriignek aturlua it'gagka mecungellruuk. g) Ikayuinanerpenga qaqitellruanka caliallrenka cukalua. h) Uqsuqamek tangellruuq kiartellermini. i) Elitnauram naaqellerminiu kalikaq cukangnaqluni alarqurallruuq. j) Kelipaq nerqatallerminiu mass'lillrua.

24.7 The precessive mood. This mood is used to express what in English is expressed by the word "before". The marker is '+vailg-/@$_5$+pailg-'. The variant starting with 'v' is used with vowel ending bases, while the variant starting with 'p' is used with consonant and 'te' ending bases (dropping the 'te').

I	calivailgan	'before he works'
II	piyuavailegma	'before I walk'
III	taqvailegpet	'before you quit'
IV	elipailgan	'before he learns'
	cenirpailgan	'before he visits'
VI	tangerpailemku	'before I see it'

Ak'a nallunritellruunga, qanrupailegpenga. 'I already knew before you told me.'

24.8 The concessive mood is used to express what in English is expressed with the word "although". The marker for this mood is '@-ngr(ar)-'. This marker changes Class IVc 't' to 'l', but leaves 't' from Class IVa and IVb unchanged. The '(ar)' of this marker is regularly deleted by the process of '(ar)' deletion (see Chap. 2.12) unless the final 'r' of this '(ar)' has already been dropped by a velar-dropping or consonant dropping type ending.

IVb elitengraaku 'although he learns it' (from 'elitengraraku' by velar dropping ending ':aku')

IVc nallunrilengramku 'although I don't eat it' (with consonant dropping ending '-mku')

III nerngerpegu 'although you eat it' (from 'nerengrarpegu' by '(ar)' deletion giving 'nerengrpegu', hence 'nerêngerpegu' by 'e' insertion, hence 'nerngerpegu' by dropping the hatted 'e')

VI ayangerma 'although I leave' (from 'ayangrarma' by '(ar)' deletion and 'e' insertion)

27.6 '=gguq' is an enclitic used to report what someone has said.

Ampi-gguq. 'Let's go (he said).'

Ca-gguq? 'What did he say?'

Tua-llu-gguq nunat ukut uitalriit. 'There was, they say, this village.'
(though plural, 'nunat' is one village)

This enclitic is used in situations involving communication through an intermediary, like an indirect quote in English introduced with the word "that".

son to intermediary: Neryugtua-gguq qanruskiu aanaka.
'Tell my mother that I want to eat.'

intermediary to mother: Neryugtuq-gguq qetunraan.
'Your son says that he wants to eat.'

mother to intermediary: Aptevkenani-gguq nerli.
'Tell him that he may eat without asking.'

27.7 '=ggem' is an enclitic meaning roughly 'I thought' or 'it seems'.

Ak'a-ggem ayagnillruat. 'I thought they said he left already.'

27.8 '=am' is an enclitic implying contrast or emphasis.

Qimugtem-am nerrlinia. 'The dog has indeed eaten it.' (something that
the dog shouldn't have eaten)

Exercises

A. 1. Umyuarteqngermi alarrnayukluni kiullrua elitnaurista. 2. Ulvailgan (ulerpagpailgan) tamarmeng yuut mayuutellruit piteng pamavet pengunun. 3. Pircillrani alingellruunga anllerkamnek nem'ek. 4. Kuuvviaq uuqnarqengraan yuurqaqataraqa. 5. Nayiq pugvailgan nutengnaqsaaqellruaqa. 6. Niptengraani kaminiaq uuqnarquq. 7. Nallunritningermi Yugtun qaneryaramek, taringesciigat'laraanga. 8. Miklemni tangellruunga amllernek tuntunek. 9. Aûgna angyaliurnginanrani erurillruunga qantanek. 10. Aturpailegpegu angyaqa kitugeskiu. 11. Yuurqaalta kelipamek avuluta. 12. Irniani nunullrua igcetellraku qantaq navtuli. 13. Aatii tengmiarcullrani maligtellruarput. 14. Ceńirtellemcetek takaryullruutek. 15. Nerellruuq pissuryarturpailegmi. 16. Qanrutellrungerpenga malrurqugnek nalluyagutaqa. 17. Neryaqunaku keniraq uuvailgan. 18. Mikelnguut inartellruut aatateng uterpailgan. 19. Qavcirqunek nutellrusiu tuntuvak tuqupailegpegu? 20. Arnat iqvainanratni uingit calillruut.

B. 1. Even though he asked me to help, I didn't care to. 2. Before I visited them, they ate some dryfish. 3. Although he wants to visit the city, he is afraid. 4. Even though the house is leaning, they keep on living in it. 5. Before I gave him some dryfish he paid me. 6. Don't go out while there's a blizzard. 7. Although I was angry at him, he wasn't angry at me. 8. When the dog barked at me I wanted to hit it. 9. I bought cigarettes even though I never smoke. 10. When they heard that someone had caught a moose, they went up there, to the mountains, in order to hunt.

Chapter XXVIII. The Connective Verb Moods, Part II, and the Transitive Participle

Vocabulary

alla	'one of a different kind'
akula^{e}	'space in between'
et'u-	'to be deep'
etgate-°	'to be shallow'
ipuun	'ladle, usually wooden'
iqalluk	'dog salmon' ('kangitneq' [Bristol Bay])
kitur-	'to pass by'
kumg-	'to scratch'
melquq	'feather'
puukar-	'to bump'
qikertaq	'island'
saalaq / caalaq	'lard, shortening' (Russian) ('mantiikaq' [Bristol Bay])
taryaqvak	'king salmon'
unan	'hand'
28.3 -lli- (V)	'supposing that subject Vs'
28.4 $\tilde{+}$yar- (V)	'would have V-ed'
28.6 @$_1\tilde{+}$naur- (V)	'subject would V'
28.7 @$_1\tilde{+}$niar- (V)	'so that subject might V'
28.8 $\tilde{+}$yarpiar- (V)	'to almost V'
28.9 =wa	used in answer to questions

28.1 The contingent mood. This mood is used to express what English expresses by the word "whenever". The marker of this mood is '+'(g)aqa-', where '(g)' is used only with class II bases. This marker, and those of the next two moods, end in vowels which are deleted before 3rd person subject endings.

When this mood is used for a dependent verb, the main verb takes one of the postbases '±lar-' or '-tu-' meaning 'regularly', or '$\tilde{-}$yuite-°' meaning 'never'.

I	Caliaqama aquilartut.	'Whenever I work, they play.'	
II	paigaqama	'whenever I stay behind at home'	
III	taq'aqan	'whenever he stops'	
IV	nerenritaqama	'whenever I don't eat'	
VI	yuraraqama or yura'arqama	'whenever I dance'	see Chap. 2.13 for the second forms for these two.
	pairaqaku or pairqaku	'whenever he licks it'	
	tangrraqamku	'whenever I see him'	

28.2 The Consequential mood. This mood expresses causality, though it is sometimes translated using the word "when".

There are two different patterns for attaching the marker, basically '(ng)a-', of this mood. One pattern is used on the Yukon and Nushagak, the other on the Kuskokwim, Nelson Island and Bristol Bay. However, there is considerable variation, a person from one area using a form we label for another area.

Yukon pattern. Here the indicator is '@$\tilde{+}$(ng)a-' where '(ng)' is used with all stems except those in class IVc.

Kuskokwim pattern. Here the indicator is '@$\tilde{:}$(ng)a-' where '(ng)' is used only with vowel ending bases (though it will be dropped by velar-dropping from Class I bases). With Class IVa and IVb bases, 't' changes to 'c', while with Class IVc bases 't' changes to 'l'.

<table>
<tr><th>Class</th><th>Base</th><th>Yukon pattern</th><th>Kuskokwim pattern</th><th></th></tr>
<tr><td>I</td><td>cali-</td><td>calingan</td><td>calian</td><td>'because he works'</td></tr>
<tr><td>II</td><td>qia-</td><td colspan="2">qiangan</td><td>'because he cries'</td></tr>
<tr><td>III</td><td>taqe-</td><td colspan="2">taqngan</td><td>'because he quits'</td></tr>
<tr><td>IVa</td><td>ceńirte-</td><td>ceńirrngan</td><td>cenircan</td><td>'because he visits'</td></tr>
<tr><td>IVb</td><td>elite-</td><td>elisngan</td><td>elican</td><td>'because he learns'</td></tr>
<tr><td>IVc</td><td>kiunrite-*</td><td colspan="2">kiunrilan</td><td>'because he doesn't answer'</td></tr>
<tr><td>VI</td><td>ayag-</td><td>ayagngan</td><td>ayiin</td><td>'because he leaves'</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>qavar-</td><td>qavarngan</td><td>qavaan</td><td>'because he sleeps'</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>kaig-</td><td>kaigngan</td><td>kaigan</td><td>'because he is hungry'</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>itr-</td><td>iterngan</td><td>itran</td><td>'because he enters'</td></tr>
</table>

Drill: a) Puukarngama nasqumkun, nasquqa akngirnarquq. b) Iruni ungiliin kumgaa. c) Qenrucamku ikayurngaitaqa. d) Kuik et'ussiyaagan qerarciigatellruukut ivrarluta. e) Taryaqvagturaqami naulluungelartuq. f) Kituamiu qikertaq unugmi tan'gercelan tangellrunritaanga. g) Apa'urluqa canaan ipuutmek quyaunga. h) Nereksailama kaigtua. i) Mernuqapigcavet ikayurciqamken. j) Tangrraqamken quyatuunga. k) Kenrilama kumartesciigataqa kaminiaq. l) Pirciraqan pissuyuitukut. m) Ceńirtaqamceteng quyalartut. n) Naulluuyugnarqut neqet nerelteng assiitellruata. o) Tangerciigatua puyissiyaagan maani.

28.3 The Conditional mood. This mood expresses "when" with reference to the future. Often no distinction is made between "if" and "when" in Yup'ik, so this mood can express "if" as well. For some speakers, however, "if" is expressed using the postbase '-lli-' before the marker of this mood. This postbase means 'supposing that', giving the contrast between 'calikan' meaning 'when he works' and 'calillikan' meaning 'if he works'.

The marker here is '@$_4\tilde{-}\underline{k}$u-' with the 'u' being deleted if the subject is 3rd person as noted already. A major modification of the endings on the chart is that 3R subject endings use 'n' with this mood in place of the 'm' of the chart (see the third example below).

The main verb must have a postbase such as '+ciqe-', '@$_2\tilde{+}$ngaite-', '$\tilde{+}$yug-', etc., to indicate the future, when it is used with a dependent verb in the Conditional mood.

I	calikan	'when he works'
	calikuma	'when I work'
	calikuni	'when he (subj.) works'
II	qiakan	'when he cries'
III	taqkan	'when he quits'
IVa	ceńireskan	'when he visits'
IVb	eliskan	'when he learns'
IVc	nerenrilkan	'when he doesn't eat'
VI	qavaqan	'when he sleeps'
	ayakan	'when he leaves'
	itqan	'when he comes in'
	tangqerqan	'when he sees' (see Chap. 2.4.3 for explanation of the retention of the 'r')

28.4 Contrafactual conditionals are expressed using the Conditional mood on the dependent verb, and the postbase '$\tilde{+}$yar-' on the main verb.

Ayakuma taiciquq. 'If I go away, he will come.' (not contrafactual)

Ayallrukuma taillruyartuq. 'If I had gone away, he would have come.' (contrafactual because the sentence implies that the speaker did not go away, and the one talked about did not come)

Yaqulgukuma tengyartua. 'If I were a bird, I would fly.' (contrafactual)

Drill: a) Tekiskuneng qanruciiqaitkut. b) Tangerqumku apciiqaqa. c) Ikayullrunrilkuvnga piksaicaraqa. d) Amllernek pitlikuni (piskuni) cikirciqsugnarqaakuk. e) Ellallillikan (ellalliqan) ayanrilkilta. f) Kuik et'ukan ivrarciigaciiquten. g) Allanret tekiskata nerevkaqiki. h) Ipuutelikuvnga akilirciqamken. i) Alingyaqunak qimugtema qilullikaten. j) Atullikuniu (atuquniu) navegciqsugnarqaa.

28.5 The Transitive Participle. In Chap. 23 we saw that a verb base expanded by the postbase '≂lria' (or '@$\tilde{}_4$nguq*') could function as the main verb of a sentence, if this sentence is exclamatory in nature, usually having a word such as 'tang' or 'atam'. In this role these postbases are known as the 'intransitive participle' and have a set of 1st and 2nd person endings for such uses:

Mingqellrianga, tang; uitasnga. 'Look, I'm sewing; leave me alone.'

There is also a set of endings for the 'transitive participle' (chart below) which can function as the main verb of an exclamatory sentence:

Mingqekeka, tang; uitasnga. 'Look, I'm sewing it; leave me alone.'

Endings of the Transitive Participle

OBJECT

SUBJECT				3rd Person			1st Person			2nd Person		
				s	p	d	s	p	d	s	p	d
	3rd	s	@$_4$≃$\underline{k}$e-	ii	ai	k	iinga	iikut	iikuk	iiten	iici	iitek
		p		iit	ait	gket	iitnga	aitkut	aitkuk	iitgen	aiceci	aicetek
		d		iik	kek	gkek	iignga	iigkut	iigkuk	iigten	iigci	iigtek
	1st	s		ka	nka	gka				mken	mci	mtek
		p		vvut	put	gput				mteggen	mceci	mcetek
		s		vvuk	puk	gpuk				megten	megci	megtek
	2nd	s		n	ten	gten	vnga	vkut	vkuk			
		p		ssi	ci	gci	vcia	vcikut	vcikuk			
		d		ssek	tek	gtek	vtegnga	vtegkut	vtegkuk			

The endings on the above chart are essentially those of the indicative mood, except that the marker is '@$_4$≃$\underline{k}$e-' instead of the transitive indicative marker '+'(g)ar-'. Even the 3s-3s participle ending '@$_4$≃$\underline{k}$ii' is the result of adding the familiar 3s-3s ending ':(ng)a' to '@$_4$≃$\underline{k}$e-'.

Like the intransitive participle, the transitive participle has a nominal use. For this, it can be regarded as a nominalizing postbase, '@$_4$≃$\underline{k}$e$\not-$', which can only be added to verb bases capable of taking transitive endings, and which itself takes only possessed noun endings. The meaning of a verb base nominalized by this postbase is "the one(s) which the grammatical possessor is V-ing."

Examples:

Nerkemni nuyartangqertuq. 'In the one I'm eating there is a hair.'

Alaskamek man'a yuut pilaqiit angqapigtuq. 'This place that people call ('pi-' and '$\underline{+}$lar-') Alaska is very big.'

Assikaqa atuqeka. 'I like the one I'm using.'

28.6 '@$_1\tilde{+}$naur-' (V). This postbase is difficult to analyze and sometimes awkward to translate; however, in context it can sometimes be translated as 'would V', as in these examples:

Qanertuq unuaqu tekitnaurniluku. 'He said that she would arrive tomorrow.'

Unugaqan matarqaarluni inarrnaurtuq. 'Whenever it was night, after taking off his clothes, he would go to bed.' ('unug-' is being used as a verb here)

It can also be used in place of the optative mood for first person.

Ayagnaurtukut. 'Let's go.' (despite the indicative ending it has the meaning of an optative)

28.7 '@$_1\tilde{+}$niar-' (V) means 'so that subject may V'. It is often used in a sentence having a coordinate main verb in the optative.

Upesgu, ayagniartuq. 'Get him ready so that he can leave.'

28.8 '$\breve{+}$yarpiar-' (V) means 'to almost V'.

Alinguq igcarpiarami. 'He's scared because he almost fell.'

Waten ayuqsarpiartuq. 'It's almost like this.'

28.9 '=wa' is an enclitic used mainly in answering questions or implied questions.

Uitalria-wa tayima cali tamaani. 'Maybe he is still there.'

Nereksailama-wa. 'Because I haven't eaten.' (in answer to 'Ciin kaigpakarcit?' 'Why are you so hungry?'

Exercises:

A. 1. Talliqa ungiliin, kumgaqa. 2. Nerkuvgu una arumalria, naulluuciqsugnarquten.
3. Aturyuumiitaa murak nanilan. 4. Kuik tamaani etgalan, ivrarlua
qeralaraqa ivrucirtuumarma. 5. Piyukuvet neriu. 6. Ayakuvet
nalluyagucaqunaku paltuugen. 7. Tuntuviim agaani kituqakuk, nutkilauk.
8. Nereksailama kaikapigtua. 9. Kaikapigcama neryuumirtua.
10. Nerenrilkuvet kaigciquten. 11. Niitaqa im'um maanlucia.
12. Tang, ing'um kumegcuutengqerceskiinga. 13. Anngaqa calinrilan caliunga.
14. Elitengnaqua Yugtun qaneryaramek. Qanrutaqavnga qanlaqina Yugtun.
15. Camek piyukuvet, igaqina wangnun tuyuusqelluten. 16. Kegg'umun
napamun puukallruama qamiqumkun qamiquqa akngirnarquq. 17. Qamiquqa
akngirnaq'ngan (or akngirnarqengan) anyuumiitua. 18. Ellallinrilkan unuaqu
pissuryartuqilta qavavet. 19. Callmallruavgu paltuuka quyaunga.
20. Ut'reskan apeskiu pissullrucianek. 21. Inarcan umyuartequa qavarniyukluku.
22. Qanertuq caliniluku ernerpak unugtuumaan. 23. Piyungerma pisciigatua.
24. Tang, una pikekeka. 25. Tekiskuma alingenrirciqut. 26. Maqiyarturnaurtukuk.

B. 1. When you come here again let your children come with you. 2. Whenever
I drink coffee I have bread with it. 3. Because my mother is visiting from
Dillingham, we haven't gone berry picking. 4. Because he knows how to
speak Eskimo I let him translate the story. 5. Because it tried to bite
them, the children are afraid of that big dog. 6. She likes the cover
parka because it is blue. 7. I finished it when I was alone. 8. When I
told him how long the boat was he said that he didn't care to buy it.
9. Because I was angry I shot that crow. 10. When you see him again ask
him what he wants. 11. I am happy because I have learned how the Yup'ik
language works.

VOCABULARY WORDS, CHAPTERS 1 - 28

Numbers refer to chapters.
Numbers with asterisks indicate that words are given as alternates in the cited chapter.

aana, 5
aasgaaq, 22*
aata, 5
acak, 3
aci, 17
acsalugpiaq, 19
acsaq / atsaq, 6
acsarpiaq, 19*
agaani, 25
agayulirta, 7
agayuvik, 15
Agayuneq, 18
age-, 11
agiirte-, 16
agna, 24
agtur-, 20
agyaq, 20
aiggaq, 10
aipaq, 6
Aipirin, 18
ak'a, 25
akakiik, 20
ak'allaq, 9
akemna, 24
akeka, 26
akerta, 20
aki, 7
akimiaq, 18
akimiarunrita'ar, 18
akin, 10
akleng, 26
akluk, 13
akmani, 25
akngirte- / aknirte-, 8
akula, 28
akutaq, 9
akwaugaq / akwauvaq, 8
ala-i, 26
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Introduction to the Addenda

The material in the following pages of this book was not included in the main body of the text for several reasons.

The first two addenda, "An alternate formulation of the rules for stress and rhythmic lengthening", and "A reinterpretation of bases ending in two consonants", give alternate presentations of matters dealt with in the text but which had not been considered at the time the main body of the text was being written. Also, it is not certain that these new presentations are preferable in all respects to the old presentations.

The next two addenda, "The conditions under which "v" is [v] or [w], and the relationship of "s" and "y" , and "A closer analysis of possessed noun endings" give analyses of points dealt with in the main body of the text but at a deeper level.

The last addendum, "Use of the terminalis case in active to passive transformations", is an observation based on material introduced at several different points throughout the text.

An alternate formulation of the rules for stress and rhythmic lengthening

In Chapter 1 stress was presented after rhythmic lengthening. However, it is possible to formulate rules for stress which show rhythmic lengthening and automatic gemination to be specific consequences of stress. We did not do so in Chapter 1 because understanding rhythmic lengthening is more important than understanding the other aspects of stress if a student is to learn to read and spell Yup'ik. However we shall formulate such stress rules now in the order in which they are to be applied.

1) Inherent primary stress:

a) on non-final syllables containing two vowels (alike or unlike)

b) on an initial closed syllable

2) Rhythmic primary stress:

On the second syllable after the beginning of the word (if the first syllable does not have primary stress), and on the second syllable after a syllable already assigned stress. However if that second syllable is open and the one before it is closed, the stress is skipped to the third syllable, and counting resumes after that. Counting starts again after a syllable with inherent primary stress is reached.

Final syllables are not stressed, and stress is not skipped in cases where skipping it would cause it to land on the last enclitic of a word (other than the enclitic '=qaa').

3) Rhythmic lengthening:

A single prime vowel in an open stressed syllable becomes rhythmically lengthened.

4) Automatic gemination:

a) A consonant will be automatically geminated if it follows an open syllable with a stressed 'e'.

b) The initial consonant of a syllable with two vowels will be automatically geminated if it follows an open syllable with a short (non-lengthened) vowel.

5) Secondary stress:

The vowel of a closed syllable (including syllables closed by gemination) will be secondarily stressed if it precedes a syllable with two vowels.

For example, in the word 'ang/yar/pa/li/yug/nga/yug/nar/quq' (he can probably make big boats), the first syllable, 'ang', has inherent primary stress because it is closed. Since the second syllable after that, 'pa', is open, and the one before it, 'yar', is closed, stress is skipped to the syllable 'li'. After that, 'yug' is closed and 'nga' is open so stress is skipped to 'yug'. 'quq' is not stressed since it is the final syllable of the word. Also, since the stressed syllable 'li' is open and contains one prime vowel, that vowel gets rhythmic lengthening: 'áng/yar/pa/lî/yug/nga/yúg/nar/quq'.

In the word 'kuig/pag/mi/-llu' (also in the big river), the first syllable, 'kuig', has inherent primary stress. The second syllable after that, 'mi', is open and the one before it, 'pag', is closed, but stress is not skipped to the enclitic (as noted above). So 'mi' *is* stressed and its vowel gets rhythmic lengthening since this syllable is an open stressed syllable containing one prime vowel: 'kúig/pag/mî/-llu'. See also Chapter 1.19.

An example of the effect of secondary stress is the difference between 'ming/qut/kaa/-llu' (also it is his needle) and 'ming/qut/ka/-llu' (also my needle). In the first word 'qut' gets secondarily stressed but not in the second word: 'míng/qút/káa/-llu', but 'míng/qut/kâ/-llu'.

Note: The Kotlik area near the north mouth of the Yukon does not have the underlined part of the rule for rhythmic primary stress in its stress pattern. Thus, consider the word 'paq/naq/sa/qu/na/ku' (don't be inquisitive about it). For non-Kotlik area speakers the stress and rhythmic length will be: 'páq/naq/sa/qû/na/ku', but Kotlik area speakers do not skip the stress from 'sa' to 'qu' so their pattern will be: 'páq/naq/sâ/qu/nâ/ku'.

A reinterpretation of bases ending in two consonants

A number of bases and postbases are introduced in this book as ending in two consonants (Chap. 2.3, Class VI group 4)). This formulation necessitates several special rules. First is that in adding the Ø suffix, an "e" must be inserted to break a word-final two-consonant cluster as when going from the base "atr-" to "atq" and hence to "ateq" (name). Second is the rule concerning non-devoicing (Chap. 2.5) that allows us to go from "apr-" and "@∓luku" to "aperluku" (pronouncing it) rather than to *"aperrluku". And, third is the rule that says that when a dropping type suffix is attached to a base ending in two consonants, the dropped consonant is replaced with an "e" (Chap. 2.4.2), thus allowing "yaqulg-" and "-cuar" to give "yaqulecuar" (a small bird) rather than *"yaqulcuar".

An alternative formulation would be to say that those bases which we presently list as ending in CC actually end in CeC. This "e" can be called a semi-final "e", and we need only note that most suffixes, other than those that start with a consonant, drop semi-final "e"[1]. Under this new formulation, the bases mentioned above become "ater-", "aper-" and "yaquleg-". In adding the Ø suffix to form "ateq" no "e" need be inserted. In adding "@∓luku" to "aper-" there is no need to worry about why the "r" does not stay voiceless because in this formulation it was never next to the voiceless consonant "p", and since "@∓luku" starts with a consonant the semi-final "e" in "aper-" is not dropped. In adding "-cuar" to "yaquleg-", there is no need for a special rule about replacing the dropped "g" with "e". Here the semi-final "e" remains because "-cuar" starts with a consonant.

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[1] However suffixes such as "+t" where an "e" must be inserted before it to prevent an unpermitted consonant cluster, do drop semi-final "e" even though they begin with consonants. One might say that the suffix is actually "et" when attached to a base ending in a strong consonant so that the suffix actually begins with a vowel and that's why the semi-final "e" is dropped.

On the other hand, in adding the suffix ":(ng)a", for example, to "ater-" and "yaquleg-" the semi-final "e" is dropped since this suffix does not start with a consonant (in the form in which it is added to a base that ends in a consonant), and this is why one gets "atra" (his name), and "yaqulga" (his bird) with the "e" from the base dropped.

Another point in favor of including the semi-final "e" in the base, is provided by such suffixes as "+i-" (to suffer something's V-ing), and "+a-" (to repeatedly V) which are not dealt with in this book. Despite their starting with vowels and not consonants, these suffixes do not drop semi-final "e", and that is why one gets "it'riuq" (he suffered something's going out), and "nut'gauq" (he is shooting). The apostrophes indicate that a hatted "e" has been dropped so that the underlying forms of these words are "itêriuq" and "nutêgauq". If one follows the formulation of bases in Chap. 2.3, and considers the bases to be "itr-" and "nutg-" it is hard to account for the appearance of this "e" and the consequent fact that "r" and "g" are voiced in "it'riuq" and "nut'gauq". However, if one considers the stems to be "iter-" and "nuteg-" it is easy to see where the "e" comes from. The only question now is why these two suffixes do not drop semi-final "e" even though they start with vowels.

In the body of this book the bases in question were presented without the semi-final "e", and this formulation was used, despite the drawbacks noted above, because that "e" does drop out in perhaps the majority of the actual occurrences of the words. A semi-final "e" will drop out with most suffixes that start with vowels, and even with dropping type suffixes that start with consonants the retained semi-final "e" is often in hatted position and dropped for that reason. Thus with a base like "ater-" or "atr-" (depending on how you look at it) no "e" will appear in "atra" (his name), nor in "atpik" (a real name) where the underlying form "atêpik" has a hatted "e". The "e" remains only in forms like "ateq" (a name) and "atengqertuq" (he has a name), and these are less common than those where the "e" is gone.

Thus, bases, which are abstract constructs, can be often be formulated in several ways. For this group of bases the text gives the bases in a form most like that in which they most frequently occur within words, while here we have presented an alternate formulation which allows the suffixation rules to be stated in a simpler form and accounts for certain phenomena (the apostrophe in "nut'gauq" and "it'riuq") which are hard to explain otherwise.

The conditions under which "v" is [v] or [w], and the relationship of "s" and "y"

In the Yup'ik orthography used in this book, the voiced fricatives [v] (that is, the sound of "v" in the English word "vote") and [w] (the sound of "w" in the English word "we") are represented by the same symbol "v".

One can predict which sound "v" in a Yup'ik word will have from its neighboring letters and from the structure of the word.

In the following discussion we shall not concern ourselves with the Hooper Bay - Chevak dialect where "v" has the English "v" sound in all positions (outside of demonstrative pronouns)[1]. Also we shall temporarily introduce the symbol "v̲" for the English "w" sound.

The sound [v] occurs:

1) next to a consonant or next to an "e", e.g. "asveq" (walrus), "nervik" (place to eat), "angvaa" (how big!), "avek" (half)
2) when geminated within a lexical base, e.g. "kaviaq" (red fox), "uvaaguq" (it rocks in the water)
3) on the base side of the boundary between base and suffix, e.g. "cav'uq" (he is rowing), "cavun" (oar), "kuv'uq" (it spills), "kuvumauq" (it is spilled out) [from bases "cave-" and "kuve-"]

The sound [w] occurs:

1) between vowels (except under the special conditions that give [v]), e.g. "qav̲artuq" (he is sleeping), "maqiv̲ik" (steam bath house), "av̲uluku" (adding it), "qav̲aa" (sleep!), "uquriv̲aa" (how fat)

Thus [v] and [w] are not merely allophones. One must know about the construction of the words to see that "uvaaguq" and "cavun" have [v], but "qav̲aa" and "av̲uluku" have [w]. The use of one symbol is not fully justified.

We see that "v" in a suffix such as "vik" or "vaa" can be either [v], as in "nervik" and "angvaa", or [w], as in "maqiv̲ik" and "uquriv̲aa". But this is dependent entirely on the environment of "v", and thus can be determined without further grammatical information.

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[1] There are other dialect areas besides Hooper Bay - Chevak where the present discussion does not apply, in particular the Nushagak River area and parts of Bristol Bay.

In the Yup'ik orthography the voiced consonants [z] and [y] are represented by different symbols "s" and "y" respectively, unlike [v] and [w], though to a certain extent "s" and "y" are in complementary distribution.

For the purposes of this discussion we shall exclude Hooper Bay - Chevak where "y" replaces "s" in all cases, and also those parts of the Yukon where "s" replaces "y" in some cases.

"s" occurs:

1) before a consonant, or before "e" and a consonant, e.g. "asveq" (walrus), "asriq" (nuisance), "quseq" (cough), "ikusek" (elbow)

2) when geminated within a lexical base[1], e.g. "qusuuq" (smelt), "kesianek" (always)

3) on the ending side of the boundary between base and ending, e.g. "casit" (what are you doing), "aanasi" (your$_{pl}$ mother), aanaseng (their own mother) [endings: "sit", "si" and "seng"]

4) when it arises from the "t" of a base which carries gemination from that base, e.g. "kis'un" (sinker) [from the base "kit'e-"]

5) in a few lexical items where we would expect "y", e.g. "esiq" (yolk), the postbase "vsiar-" (to act more towards completion), the vocative ending "suuq" as in "ingsuuq" (you, over there)

"y" occurs:

1) after a consonant, e.g. "agyaq" (star), "qiuryaq" (northern lights), "neryugtuq" (he wants to eat), "agyirtuq" (the stars are out)

2) between vowels, except under the special conditions that give "s", e.g. "qayaq" (kayak), caliyugtuq "he wants to work", "piyuumauq" (he is ready to act), "cakiyun" (chopping device), "eyuraa" (he defends him), "nayiq" (seal)

3) at the beginning of a word, e.g. "yuk" (person), "yuurqaq" (hot beverage)

Thus "y" and "s" are not merely allophones. If one were given a word with a blank left for "s" or "y" between vowels, he would have to know about the construction of the word to know whether it took "s" like "casit" and "qusuuq" or "y" like "nayiq" and "piyuumauq". On the other hand, if one were given a word with a blank for "s" or "y" before a consonant, one could reasonably expect it to take "s", and if the blank were after a consonant one could reasonably expect it to take "y".

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[1] "piyua-" (to walk) is an exception

Unlike the situation with [v] and [w], there are no morphemes which have "s" in some environments and "y" in others.[1]

Thus, there is considerable justification for having separate symbols for "s" and "y" despite the fact that both are the fricative counterparts of "t" (as we can see in the case of "kis'un" [from "kit'e-"] and "cakiyun" [from "cakite-"]), and despite the fact that there is a dialect that replaces "s" with "y" and a dialect that replaces "y" with "s". There are good reasons also for writing [v] and [w] with separate symbols (as we have seen in the case of "cavun" and "avuluku", and "uvaaguq" and "uqurivaa") but these reasons are less compelling and haven't been followed in the orthography.

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[1] In the Kotlik area of the Yukon a geminated "y" and a "y" following a consonant will be replaced with "s". This area says "agsaq" rather than "agyaq", and "qasaa" (his kayak) rather than "qayaa", but they retain the "y" in "qayaq" since it is not geminated. Thus, in this area there are morphemes such as "qayaq" which sometimes have "y" and sometimes have "s" depending on the environment.

A closer analysis of possessed noun endings

The possessed absolutive endings presented in Chap. 9 and the possessed relative endings presented in Chap. 10 can be analyzed more deeply than they are in those chapters.

Referring to the first person possessor absolutive endings, '-k̲a', '+nka' and '+gka', the indicator of first person singular is clearly the 'ka'. The 'n' in the plural possessed form is from the 't' of the unpossessed plural ending '+t', while the 'g' in the dual possessed form is from the 'k' in the unpossessed dual ending '+k'. Thus:

nuna + ka → nunaka 'my land'
nunat + ka → nunanka 'my lands'
nunak + ka → nunagka 'my lands$_2$'

Looking at the first person possessor absolutive endings, '+put/vut', '-put' and '+gput', the indicator of first person plural can be considered to be 'vut'. When this 'vut' is attached after a consonant the 'v' becomes 'p', while when it is attached after the 't' of the unpossessed plural ending '+t', the stop consonant characteristic of that 't' combines with the labial characteristic of the 'v' so that 't' and 'v' together become 'p'. Thus:

nuna + vut → nunavut 'our land', but qayar + vut → qayarput 'our kayak'
nunat + vut → nunaput 'our lands'
nunak + vut → nunagput 'our lands$_2$'

Following the same line of reasoning, the underlying forms of the second person singular, plural and dual possessor indicators are actually 'n', 'si' and 'sek', with 'si' and 'sek' appearing most often as 'ci' and 'tek' respectively just as 'vut' appears most often as 'put'. There is a relationship between 'n', 'si' and 'sek' also. 'n' is perhaps an underlying 's' (both are apicals), and the mark of a singular possessor here is 0, the mark of a plural possessor is 'i' and the mark of a dual possessor is 'k'.

So here 0, 'i' and 'k' represent singular, plural and dual respectively. This is a familiar pattern. 'a', 'i' and 'k' represent singular, plural and dual possessed components of third person possessor absolutive endings (Chap. 5.1), while 'u', 'i' and 'k' represent singular, plural and dual object components of the interrogative, optative and subordinative endings.

Note that the indicative intransitive 3rd person subject endings 'ten', 'ci' and 'tek' (Chap. 11.1) are related to 'n', 'si' and 'sek', but in the indicative verb endings there is a 't' which shows up as the 'te' in 'ten' and which causes 'si' to appear as 'ci' and 'sek' to appear as 'tek'

Looking now at the possessed relative endings in Chapter 10 and comparing them to the possessed absolutive endings in Chapter 9, one can see that the 'm' of the singular unpossessed relative ending combines with the first person possessor absolutive ending '-ka' to give the first person singular relative ending '-ma', while the same 'm' combines with the second person possessor absolutive ending '+n' to give the second person singular relative ending '+pet/vet' where 'p' and 'v' are connected with the labial 'm', and 't' is connected with the apical 'n'.

Use of the terminalis case in active to passive transformations

Another use of the terminalis case beside those noted in the text is with certain "passive voice" intransitive constructions.[1] For example:

(a) Angutmun pisteńguuq. 'He is a servant of the man.'

(b) Neresciurtuq carayagmun. 'It gets eaten by a bear.'

(c) Tuqutauguq yugmun. 'It is killed by a person.'

(d) Neryunarquq yugnun. 'It can be eaten by people.'

These four sentences correspond to the "active voice" transitive constructions:

(a) Angutem pistekaa. 'He is the man's servant.'

(b) Carayiim neraa. 'A bear is eating it.'

(c) Yuum tuqutaa. 'A person is killing it.'

(d) Yuut neryugngaat. 'People can eat it.'

The nouns which are the subjects of the transitive verbs in the second set of four sentences, and are thus in the relative case, appear in the terminalis case in the first set of four sentences. This situation of a noun in the relative case appearing in the terminalis case after a certain transformation has been made is like the use of the terminalis case for the subject of a verb embedded within a compound verbal postbase (see Chap. 21.3 and also Chap. 16.7). For that use of the terminalis, for example, the relative case noun in a sentence like

Angutem neraa akutaq. 'The man is eating the Eskimo ice cream.'

appears in the terminalis in

Arnam angutmun nernia akutaq. 'The woman says that the man is eating the Eskimo ice cream.' or 'The woman says that the Eskimo ice cream is being eaten by the man.'

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[1] The ablative-modalis may be used in some areas instead of the terminalis.

YUP'IK ESKIMO LANGUAGE WORKSHOP

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